

SIJOBANG: SUNG NARRATIVE POETRY OF WEST SUMATRA

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by

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ABSTRACT

In the sphere of Malay and Indonesian literature, it is only recently that students of oral narratives have paid attention to their character as oral performances, and this thesis is the first study of a West Sumatran metrical narrative to take that aspect of it into account.

Versions of the story of Anggun Nan Tungga exist in manuscript and printed form, and are performed as dramas and sung narratives in two parts of West Sumatra: the coastal region of Tikus and Pariaman and the inland area around Payakumbuh. *Sijobang* is the sung narrative form heard in the Payakumbuh area. It is performed on festive occasions by paid story-tellers called *tukang sijobang*, who learn the story mainly from oral sources.

The story is usually sung in part, not in full. However, a recital of the complete story by one *tukang sijobang* was recorded, and a full summary, about 40,000 words in length, is given in chapter II. The plot differs somewhat from one story-teller to another, the greatest differences being in the least-performed parts.

Chapter III contains transcriptions, about 1200 lines in length, of two sung performances of *sijobang*, with translations and notes. This is preceded by a discussion of the various tunes and their uses; metre; phonetic differences between the Payakumbuh dialect and standard Minangkabau; literary features such as formulae, themes, parallelism and repetition; and the forms and uses of *pantun* in *sijobang*.

Chapter IV examines the ways in which a *tukang sijobang*'s performance of a scene varies from one occasion to another. An outline comparison of three pairs of scenes shows that a scene remains largely stable in structure (i.e. number and order of speeches and sections) and in content from one performance to another. A more detailed analysis of two pairs of transcriptions (about 360 lines) shows that speeches, like scenes, are basically stable in structure and content, but that details of expression are fluid. The evidence also suggests that, compared with a novice, an experienced *tukang sijobang* relies less on the repetition of stock phrases and more on substitution within formulaic patterns.

Being in some respects exploratory rather than exhaustive, the thesis points the way to a number of potentially fruitful fields for further research.

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	
Chapter I <i>Sijobang</i> and other forms of the story of Anggun Nan Tungga	1
Manuscripts and printed versions	
Oral forms	
Tiku and Pariaman	
The Payakumbuh area	
Chapter II The story of Anggun Nan Tungga in Lima Puluh Kota today	18
Introduction	
Characteristics of the story	
Obtaining a version of the story	
Authenticity of Munin's version	
Divisions of the story	
Nature of the summary	
Summary	
Differing versions	
Local attitudes to <i>sijobang</i>	
Chapter III Two performances of <i>sijobang</i>	139
Introduction	
Music	
Metre	
Dialect	
Literary language	
Recurrent elements	
Parallelism	
Repetition	
<i>Pantun</i>	
Transcriptions	
Transcription A	
Transcription B	
Chapter IV Variation between performances	242
Outline comparison	
Detailed comparison	
Transcriptions C and D	
Transcriptions E and F	
Stability of structure	
Fluidity of expression	
Variation in language	
Reasons for variation between performances	
Glossary of Minangkabau words	285
Works cited	294
Maps	
1 West Sumatra	
2 Area around Payakumbuh	
Photographs	
Cassette (in pocket inside back cover)	

PREFACE

Although a number of editions of Minangkabau *kaba* (stories) have been published during the past 100 years, the editors have not in general paid much attention to the fact that such stories were and are performed orally. Consequently very little has been written on such topics as the story-tellers who perform them, the circumstances in which they are sung, and the musical aspect of their performance. The only exception I know of is the brief discussion in the foreword to van der Toorn's edition of *Manjau Ari* (van der Toorn, 1891a, pp 3-4), where the style of singing, improvisation, the variability of the story, and the audience's reactions are all touched upon. Variability, a common feature of oral literature, is also mentioned in the same author's edition of *Kaba Sutan Manangkerang* (van der Toorn, 1885, p 267, footnote 1), but not discussed at any length - the equipment needed for a thorough study (tape-recorders and so on) was anyway non-existent in those days. These and other topics, which have become commonplace in the study of oral literature in other countries, and were first seriously investigated in the field of Malay literature by Sweeney (1972, 1973, 1976), are introduced into the discussion of Minangkabau *kaba* in this thesis.

Although earlier writers largely disregarded the oral aspects of Minangkabau literature, they did at least produce editions of complete stories, and in that respect this thesis may be thought deficient. However, the story of Anggun Nan Tungga, as told by *tukang sijobang*, is far too long for a complete edition to be presented here. Instead, the thesis includes a full summary - the first in English - of the entire story as narrated by a *tukang sijobang*, followed by transcriptions and translations of *sijobang* performances totalling about 1,560 lines. Just as my aim in recording the full story was to acquire some of the background knowledge needed for an understanding of *sijobang*, so the summary of the story in chapter II will, I think, help the reader to appreciate the *sijobang* performances transcribed and translated in chapters III and IV, as well as being of interest on its own account.

I hope that the preliminary steps taken in this thesis will be followed by further research into questions of music, metre, the learning process, the role of formulae in composition, and many other aspects of *sijobang* and other forms of Minangkabau literature.

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My research in West Sumatra was made easier by the helpful attitude of many government officials, especially those in the Governor's Office in Padang, the offices of the Walikota, Bupati and Police in Payakumbuh, and offices of the Department of Education and Culture in various parts of West Sumatra, particularly in Payakumbuh, and I am most grateful to them.

Many people in different parts of West Sumatra, but especially in and around Payakumbuh, gave me various kinds of help for which I am very thankful. For reasons of space I can mention only a few of them here: Dr Yakub Isman, Drs Tamsin Medan, Drs Rizanur Gani, Dra Yusna Yusuf, Drs Boestanoel Arifin Adam and his staff at ASKI, Padang Panjang, R M Dt Rajo Panghulu, Dr Mochtar Naim and Ibu Asma, Sdr M Arifin, Sdr A Damhoeri, Dra Ellyza Noerhan, Sdr Naspi Rusli and his staff in the Kabin Kebudayaan, Payakumbuh, and the following *tukang sijobang*: As, Bakaruddin, Buyueng, Jasa, Juran, the late Minsah, Nurman, Rustam, Sabirin, Suhir, Sutan and Syaf. I owe an especially large debt of gratitude to Haji M Sawi Z.A. and Haji Armaini Z.A. and their families for their generous hospitality; to Sdr Syamsuhir Burhan of the Payakumbuh office of the Department of Education and Culture, for his unflagging help in the work of recording and transcription; and to the *tukang sijobang* Munin, for his patience and kindness towards his outlandish pupil.

Outside West Sumatra I have benefitted much from advice and help of various kinds from Professor Stuart Simmonds (the Head of my Department), Ruth Finnegan, Amin Sweeney and Bill Watson. In particular, my thanks are

due to my supervisor, Dr Russell Jones, for his constant encouragement and his helpful criticism of my drafts; and to Dr Khaidir Anwar, whose clear and careful guidance in matters of Minangkabau language and culture has been of the utmost value.

Finally, I thank my wife and children for their patience and encouragement during the past four years.

SIJOBANG AND OTHER FORMS OF THE STORY OF ANGGUN NAN TUNGGGA

The purpose of this chapter is first to place *sijobang* in the context of other forms, written and oral, of the story of Anggun Nan Tungga, and then to describe in outline the background and training of the *tukang sijobang*.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED VERSIONS

Three manuscripts of a *Kaba Si Toengga* are mentioned in van Ronkel's 1909 catalogue of Malay MSS in the museum of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (van Ronkel 1909, pp 476-477), and nine MSS (one dated 1855) of *Kaba Nan Toengga*, or *Kaba Toewan Nan Toengga*, are listed in the same author's supplementary catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau MSS in the library of Leiden University (van Ronkel 1921, pp 200-204). Not only the titles of these MSS, but also the extracts quoted in the catalogues, suggest that they are versions, or parts of versions, of the story which is performed in West Sumatra today. A manuscript of part of the story, dated 1918, was acquired by Julius Habib in 1964 (Habib 1969, p7).

The story of Anggun Nan Tungga first appeared in print in 1914, when Winstedt published a version, the *Hikayat Anggun Che' Tunggal*, which had been "taken down by the editor from the lips of Pawang Ana" (the Perak story-teller) and then "put into grammatical prose by Raja Haji Yahya" (Winstedt 1914, p1). Whatever currency the story enjoyed in Perak at that time, it does not seem to be performed by professional story-tellers in West Malaysia nowadays (Sweeney 1973). Other printed versions have appeared in Indonesia. The first was a compilation in two volumes (in Arabic script) by Datoee' Bagindo Kajo, entitled *Riwayat Nan Toengga Mage' Djabang*, and published in 1925 in Fort de Kock (now Bukittinggi). Then in 1934 the Balai Pustaka published a *Sja'ir Anggoen Tji' Toenggal* by Djamin and Tasat St Bagindo and reprinted it after the second world war. In 1962 a version in Minangkabau entitled *Anggun Nan Tungga Magek Djabang*, compiled by Amba Mahkota and amended by A Damhoeri, was published in Bukittinggi, and in 1968 a serial story by A Damhoeri, based on Amba Mahkota's book and written in Indonesian, appeared in the Padang daily newspaper *Angkatan Bersendjata*.¹

ORAL FORMS

Tiku and Pariaman

One of the two areas of West Sumatra where the story of Anggun Nan

Tangga is performed now is the low-lying coastal region of Tiku and Pariaman, where many of the events in the story supposedly took place. In this area the story of Nan Tungga Magék Jabang, as the hero is known locally, is performed mainly as a *randai* (known in the Tiku area as *simarantang*). In its local form, this is a drama in which the story is narrated by a singer, and the actions danced and mimed by 15-20 male actors, with musical accompaniment on *pupuk* and *calémpung*.² In Tiku the story is sometimes simply narrated by a singer, but this is said to be less popular than *simarantang* and to be done less often. In *randai/simarantang* form the entire story can apparently be presented in two nights, but when sung by a storyteller takes only one night. In the district around Pariaman *randai* performances of the story are, I was told, fairly infrequent, but in the Tiku area they are said to happen more often: Bujang Khatib Can, who is one of perhaps 10 singers in the Tiku district, is reported to perform somewhere between five and 20 times a year.³

Nearly all the local people to whom I spoke believed the story of Nan Tungga Magék Jabang to be true. It was thought, for example, that he was born in Padusunan, near Pariaman, and that his fiancée Gandorih came from Cacang, near Tiku. People now living were said to be their descendants,⁴ and local places were identified with scenes in the story. Suggested dates for events in the story varied from the tenth century AD to the eighteenth. Another belief was that performance of the story of Nan Tungga Magék Jabang (in particular an episode in which he summons the winds to propel his ship) can cause a storm, and I was told of a recent example of this phenomenon.

The Payakumbuh⁵ area

The area of West Sumatra where the story of Anggun Nan Tungga is most often performed, and probably best known, is the district surrounding Payakumbuh, a small town about 80 miles east of Tiku and 1,500 feet up in the mountains. Payakumbuh is the administrative centre of the *kabupaten*⁶ of Lima Puluh Kota, which has a population of about 230,000, mostly peasant farmers growing *padi*, maize, tobacco, cloves and other crops. The most populous part of Lima Puluh Kota is the area around Payakumbuh. In this area, as on the coast, the story of Anggun Nan Tungga is performed both as a drama and as a sung narrative. The two forms are called, respectively, *randai* and *sijombang*.⁷

1. Randai

This type of drama exists in many parts of West Sumatra, but flourishes particularly in Lima Puluh Kota, where registered troupes alone number 44. Each troupe performs one story, or episode, and at present eleven of the 44 troupes use episodes from the story of Anggun Nan Tungga. The story is sufficiently long, and contains enough fighting and romance (which, together with comedy, are considered the essential elements of a *randai* plot), for eight of the eleven troupes to use a different episode each. Each troupe is named after the episode which it performs. So, for example, a troupe which performs the episode in which Anggun Nan Tungga defeats seven ships is named *Kumpulan Tari Randai Maalah Kapa Nan Tujueh*.

The performance: *Randai* is performed out of doors on a circle of bare earth about 30 feet wide, around which the audience sits or stands. Performances begin at about 9 or 10 p.m. and last about four hours. The drama consists of narrative sections alternating with acted scenes. In the narrative sections, nine players move in a circle anti-clockwise, executing *silék*⁸ movements in unison, while some of them take it in turns to sing the narrative. For the acted scenes the players squat in a wide circle, into which two or three of them step to take the parts of individual characters. These scenes consist mainly of dialogue accompanied by a limited range of gestures, but there are also more active episodes of buffoonery and *silék* fighting.

The language used is standard Minangkabau.⁹ As in *sijobang* it is literary in style and is divided into phrases about nine syllables in length. (*Sijobang* language and metre are discussed in Chapter III.) However, in the comic and fighting sequences there is a good deal of extemporisation in colloquial and non-metrical language. Female roles are customarily played by men, suitably dressed, padded and made-up and usually wearing dark glasses. In a few *randai* troupes women act these parts, but this is said to be a departure from tradition. The female characters participate only in the acted scenes, and do not join the ring of men performing *silék* movements. Before the performance *calémpung* and *pupuk* are played to attract an audience, and occasionally during the drama singing is accompanied on *salueng* or *robab*.¹⁰

Finance: *Randai* performances are sometimes put on to raise money for development projects, sometimes simply for entertainment. Since the costs of transport, costumes etc. make them quite expensive to mount, performances are usually sponsored by largish organizations in villages or towns. A certain amount of support is provided by the Payakumbuh office of the Department of Education and Culture. *Randai* troupes which register with the office can receive government grants to help cover their costs. The office also tries to stimulate improvement by classifying *randai* companies into two grades, according to merit, and regulating the fees they charge for performing: Rp 15,000 for the first grade, Rp 10,000 for the second. Only troupes in these two grades are allowed to perform outside Lima Puluh Kota. Officials of the Department regularly travel about watching *randai* companies rehearse and perform, and giving them advice. Some officials hope that *randai* will eventually develop into a tourist attraction.

Religious objections: *Randai* incurs criticism from some Muslims of the stricter, reformist type, who are numerous in West Sumatra. Specifically, what the critics of *randai* object to is the playing of female roles by men, because Islam forbids wearing the clothes of the opposite sex.¹¹ They are equally opposed to women acting female roles, some because it is contrary to Islam to make women a public spectacle,¹² others on the grounds that the circumstances of the performance (out of doors and late at night) put *randai* actresses in moral danger. The latter objection is perhaps the stronger one, since few people disapprove of women acting in plays staged indoors. As an example of the bad reputation of *randai* in some circles, I was once told that it had been banned from a certain village in Agam because some people had taken advantage of the darkness and lack of supervision to behave immorally. However, at all the *randai* performances I saw in Lima Puluh Kota, the area was kept brightly lit with paraffin lamps. In more general terms, *randai* is frowned upon by some Muslims because it is an activity typical of the *paréwa*, a class of young men who were traditionally, and to some extent still are, associated with *silék*, gambling, cockfighting and other pastimes considered frivolous by the more serious Muslims.¹³ This attitude to *paréwa* may be sustained by memories of the period of Communist ascendancy in Indonesia in the early 1960s, when the *paréwa* are said to have joined in the harrassment of Muslims, and *randai* was sometimes used as a medium of Communist propaganda. Furthermore, it is

said that during the PRRI revolt of 1958-61 the *paréwa* tended to support the central government, while Muslim activists formed the core of the rebel forces.¹⁴

I sometimes heard officials of the Department of Education and Culture refer to the religious objections to *randai* when making speeches at *randai* performances. In defence of *randai*, they said that there was a *hadith* to the effect that the Prophet was once asked to condemn some people who were singing and dancing, but refused.¹⁵ On one occasion I heard an official criticise villagers because they had blamed the local *randai* company for the presence of rats in the *padi* fields. However, he went on to warn the *randai* actors that they must disarm religious opposition by regularly attending Friday prayers; if not, he would see to it that they were arrested for complicity in *Gestapu*, the attempted Communist coup of 1965.

2. Sijobang

The second form in which the Anggun Nan Tungga legend is told in Lima Puluh Kota - that of a narrative poem sung by a storyteller - is known as *sijobang*, because in the local version of the story one of the hero's names is Si Jobang Sati.

Occasions: The storytellers, called *tukang sijobang*, are hired to sing the story as a form of entertainment on various festive occasions - mostly at weddings, but also, I was told, at circumcisions, house-building ceremonies and installations of *pangulu* (lineage heads). They also perform at fund-raising events, for the entertainment of customers in *lopau* (coffee shops), and sometimes non-professionally in the houses of friends. *Tukang sijobang* say that they perform mainly in Lima Puluh Kota, sometimes in Tanah Datar, but rarely in Agam. This is probably because the Lima Puluh Kota dialect used by the storytellers is much more similar to the dialect of Tanah Datar than to the Agam dialect. Very occasionally *tukang sijobang* are invited to perform for Lima Puluh Kota emigrants in Jakarta. Sometimes if a *tukang sijobang* cannot be hired for a local occasion, cassette recordings of *sijobang* are said to be played instead. Such cassettes are quite widely available, for several *tukang sijobang* have made recordings professionally for shops in Payakumbuh, and members of the audience often record them when they perform. Cassettes of *sijobang* are also played by vendors of folk-medicines to attract customers.

The performance: Performances of *sijobang* at weddings usually begin at about 9.00 p.m. and go on all night.¹⁶ The *tukang sijobang* sits either inside the house or on a temporary wooden platform (*balai-balai*) built against the front of it. Sometimes he plays the *pupuk* for a few minutes to give notice that the performance is soon to begin. As soon as the host and guests near him have chosen which part of the story is to be sung first,¹⁷ the storyteller begins to sing. Before starting on the narrative, he spends quarter or half an hour singing various introductory *pantun*¹⁸ (*pantun pasombahan*). Some of these express the *tukang sijobang*'s humility and his respect for those who have invited him to sing; others are intended to raise a laugh (*pantun manggolak*), or wake the audience up (*ubék kantuek*, 'cure for sleepiness'). Many are love *pantun* (*pantun mudo*), some referring (though not explicitly) to particular members of the audience, others being deliberately left open to interpretation.¹⁹ It is said that weddings traditionally provide opportunities for marriageable young people to observe one another discreetly, and that on such occasions *tukang sijobang* are often asked to sing appropriate *pantun mudo*.²⁰ According to one storyteller, *tukang sijobang* and *tukang salueng* (singers accompanied on the *salueng*) possess, so to speak, a special licence (*rebewes*) which entitles them to allude to romantic matters in public. These preliminary *pantun* are a popular part of the performance, and I several times heard people in the audience ask the *tukang sijobang* to sing a few more.

As he brings the *pantun pasombahan* to a close, the singer changes to a tune with a steady rhythm and launches into the chosen section of the story. As he sings, he taps out the rhythm on the floor-mat with a half-full box of matches (though a small minority of singers accompany themselves on the *kucapi*²¹ instead). He sits with one knee drawn up, leaning an arm on it and cupping his ear in his hand. Most of the time the *tukang sijobang* keeps his eyes shut, the better to concentrate on his performance. From time to time he switches to a different tune, but the flow of words continues unbroken. Only after an hour or so does the singer break off the narrative with an appropriate *pantun* and pause for a few minutes' rest and refreshment. Then with another *pantun* he resumes the story and continues to sing for another hour or more until his next break. At such points the *tukang sijobang* may be asked to switch to a different episode, and sometimes, if he has brought a pupil with him, the pupil may take over the singing for a while. The performance continues in this way throughout the night, usually ending at about 5.00 a.m.

Sometimes, one *tukang sijobang* told me, the audience asks the storyteller to recite (*curitokan*) part of the story instead of singing it (*lagukan*), a request said to be made by old people, so that they can enjoy the story better. It is also permissible, he said, for a *tukang sijobang* to recite for a while in order to rest his voice.

A performance usually lasts only one night, though occasionally a *tukang sijobang* is engaged to sing for several nights in succession. The complete story would take about seven nights to perform, so that a one-night performance can cover only part of it. The part said to be most often requested at weddings is the one known as *Ka Tanau*, in which Anggun Nan Tungga becomes romantically involved with two princesses, and delicately flirtatious *pantun* are heard.

The audience: Most of those present seem to pay little attention to the *tukang sijobang*'s performance: those inside the house chat, eat or play cards, outside it people squat or stand around talking, and children run about, and by about 2.00 a.m. many of the guests have gone home or are asleep. But throughout the night there are usually ten or a dozen men listening attentively and occasionally responding to the story with laughter or appreciative comments. In a *lopau* the audience is smaller, almost entirely male, and more attentive. One *tukang sijobang* told me that he preferred attentive audiences and performed better for them. It is also better, apparently, to perform away from one's own village, partly because a storyteller's own relatives may be less willing to pay him a fee, but also because *tukang sijobang* feel embarrassed (*malu*) about singing amorous *pantun* in front of their families: one *tukang sijobang* said that if he sang in the presence of his family the story would 'close up' (*kucuk*), but away from home it would 'open out' (*kombang*). This, together with novelty-value, helps to explain why audiences are said to prefer hearing *tukang sijobang* who have come from some distance.

3. Tukang sijobang

Background and earnings: There are 15 practising *tukang sijobang* in the Payakumbuh area (see table on page 16 for details). I was often told that they used to be more numerous, but it is impossible to be certain. Singers of stories other than *sijobang* are also said to have practised in the area formerly: at Arau, for example, a performer of *Malin Deman* died in the recent past, and at Sicincin I was told that there used to be *tukang kayék* (tellers of *hikayat*), who sang stories other than *sijobang*.

Today, however, *sijobang* appears to be almost the only story sung professionally by local storytellers.²² All the present *tukang sijobang* are men, though there were two women until quite recently.²³ The reason why so few women are *tukang sijobang*, I was told, is that the travelling and late nights involved in the work are hard to combine with a woman's domestic duties. In age the *tukang sijobang* range from the early twenties to the mid-fifties. The four best-known (Buyueng, Munin, Nurman and Suhir) are all aged between 38 and 48.

Nearly all the *tukang sijobang* are farmers, getting their livelihood mainly from rice, maize and other crops. Three, however, are disabled, and thus presumably more dependent on storytelling for a living.²⁴ The fee for one night's performance is usually about Rp 3,000 (equivalent in 1975 to about £3), but how often a *tukang sijobang* can earn that much depends on his popularity, and may also vary according to the time of year, as many weddings are said to take place in the two months or so preceding Ramadan. As far as I could tell, most *tukang sijobang* perform between one and ten times a month. Money is, presumably, one good reason for becoming a *tukang sijobang*, although the explanation which most of them gave is that they were attracted to the story when young. Another factor may be temperament - nearly all the *tukang sijobang* I met seemed to be sociable and extrovert by nature.

Teachers: Most of the present *tukang sijobang* said that they began to learn between the ages of 17 and 22, though Bakaruddin and Nurman said they started at nine and 13 respectively, and Buyueng apparently began only in his late twenties. Nearly all of them named another, usually older, *tukang sijobang* as their *guru* (teacher). Only three were taught by relatives: Munin by his father, Sutan by his uncle, and Bakaruddin by a grandparent. A reason why so few learn within the family may be the feelings of embarrassment, already mentioned, about singing amorous *pantun* in front of one's family. One man named as a source by several *tukang sijobang* of the present generation is the late Rasyid of Sungai Talang, who seems to have been especially popular in the area north of Payakumbuh.²⁵ Buyueng, Munin, Rustam and Suhir all said that they had learned either the story or tunes from Rasyid or his teacher.

Tuition: The process of learning is usually oral. Most of the *tukang sijobang* practising today say they learned by listening to their

teacher recite a section of the story, and then singing it back to him, either at once or on a later occasion. This method, or one which combines recitation (*curito*) with singing (*lagu*), is that used for teaching by six out of the seven *tukang sijobang* who have had pupils. The one exception, Suhir, said he recited the story to a friend, who wrote it down *verbatim* (Suhir himself is illiterate) and gave it to Suhir's pupil. However, such tuition by one's *guru* is only part of the process of learning. A boy who is interested in *sijobang* will have heard many performances and learned some of the story long before he officially enrolls as a pupil. Furthermore, once enrolled a pupil is expected to accompany his *guru* when he goes anywhere to sing, watching and listening to his performance, and thus learning tunes and *bungo* ('flowers' i.e. *pantun* in the story). Moreover, although a pupil is expected to keep to the basic plot (*batang curito*, 'trunk of the story') told by his *guru*, it is assumed that he will also listen to performances (and cassettes) by other *tukang sijobang*, and so learn small variations of plot and add to his store of *bungo*. It is also considered good to invent *bungo* of one's own.

Written sources: Although tuition is predominantly oral, five *tukang sijobang* have, in different degrees, made use of written sources or aids when learning. At one extreme, Buyueng said that he had had no *guru* but had learned the story from a very large, old book written in Arabic script, which had later been destroyed during the PRRI rebellion. (Munin, however, alleged that Buyueng had learned more from listening to other *tukang sijobang*.) Jasa, now retired, apparently learned both by listening to his teacher and by reading passages from a book, which his teacher would then hear him sing. Sutan, a son of the late Rasyid, is being taught by his uncle Sawi (not a *tukang sijobang* but an experienced writer and director of *randai*) by means of written versions of each episode, which Sutan is supposed to learn by heart. However, since Sawi is not a *tukang sijobang* and is rather deaf, he cannot teach Sutan either by singing himself or by listening critically to Sutan's performances. Furthermore, Sutan said he found it hard to memorise his uncle's scripts. For all these reasons, although he is officially learning from written sources, it is likely that Sutan learns much, perhaps most, by listening to other *tukang sijobang*, especially (he said) Munin, Suhir and Buyueng. Certainly a performance by Sutan which I recorded contained practically nothing from Sawi's written version of that episode. A fourth *tukang sijobang*, Syaf, told me that when learning the first episodes he had made

full notes from his teacher's recitation, and had kept them for a year or so, but for the remainder of the story had switched over to oral learning because he found it easier. The fifth, As, learns almost entirely from his *guru*, Munin, and by listening to other *tukang sijobang*, but makes a few notes to assist his memory. Buyueng's pupils (none of whom became practising *tukang sijobang*) also apparently made written notes while learning.

Although some prestige seemed to attach to the literary source used by Buyueng, this may have been due more to its age than to the fact that it was written, for modern written sources did not appear to command any special respect. For example, I saw no sign that Sutan's use of scripts written by Sawi to learn from was considered superior to the oral method of learning (except by Sawi himself). Moreover, only one *tukang sijobang* (Syaf) said that he had read Amba Mahkota's version of the story, printed in 1962, and he claimed not to have been influenced by it. This, however, may in part be because the plot of the book differs considerably from that followed by *tukang sijobang*.

Length of training: Most *tukang sijobang* said it had taken them about three years to learn to perform the entire story. Although it is, apparently, some time before a storyteller is asked to give a whole night's professional performance, he may be asked after only a few months of learning to give brief, informal and unpaid performances in a local *lopau* (Sutan was at this stage in 1975). Moreover, a pupil who accompanies his *guru* to performances will be asked, quite early in his training, to sing for brief periods while his teacher rests, and as he progresses he will be expected to do increasingly longer stints. Munin's pupil, As, said that it was only after a month's tuition and practice that he had felt confident enough to sing any of the story back to his teacher, but after another two or three months of teaching he had been called upon to take over from Munin for 15 minutes at a wedding feast. By 1975, As had apparently been learning for about two years, and usually shared the night's singing with Munin. In fact he was well able to give a whole night's performance on his own, having by then mastered about half the story.

Tukang sijobang usually said that they had begun by learning the most frequently requested section, *Ka Tanau*, and after that the other episodes in order of popularity, not of narrative sequence. Even after

the whole story has been learned, the acquisition or invention of *bungo* and other additions and variations is said to continue for many years. Buyueng claimed to have expanded his performance of the complete story from seven nights, at the time when he first learned it, to a total of 26 nights. Other *tukang sijobang* said that they had gradually added more *bungo* over the years.

Syarat baguru: At the beginning of his training, a pupil presents his teacher with certain traditional gifts (*syarat baguru*), which consist of some or all of the following: a cock with red plumage (*ayam birieng*), a knife, a *gantang* of rice, a *kabueng*²⁶ of black or white cloth, and one rupiah (nowadays - or in my case at least - interpreted as Rp 1,000). If the *syarat* are not given, some evil consequence may, it is thought, befall. While he is learning, a pupil occasionally brings his teacher gifts of rice and so on, and the end of the apprenticeship is said to be marked by another ceremony, at which a black cock is presented by the pupil to his teacher.

Rivalry: There are signs of a certain amount of rivalry among *tukang sijobang*. They are rumoured to use poison and witchcraft against each other, and they themselves claim to suffer such attacks from rivals, so that they are obliged to protect themselves with prayers and amulets. Professional antagonism is also expressed in jokes and critical comments, in hints that a rival is ill or dead or no longer performs, or simply by failure to mention his existence. A competitive spirit also seems to manifest itself in the claims made by some *tukang sijobang* about how frequently they are asked to perform, how many nights they take to tell the entire story, how many pupils they have, how prestigious were the sources from which they learned, and how often they are attacked by rivals. There is also some competitive use of gimmicks. Nurman, for example, said that he purposely developed a special quavery voice-quality in order to make himself inimitable; and it may be with similar motives that Syaf sings one tune at exceptionally high speed - at any rate he said that audiences liked this feature of his performance. However, unlike the rivalry which, according to Sweeney,²⁷ exists between Kelantan shadow-play *dalang* and their pupils, there was no sign of competition in the only teacher-pupil relationship which I observed, that between Munin and As. On the contrary, when they were both performing at the same place, Munin self-effacingly made sure that As enjoyed the maximum limelight. In general

Munin's behaviour towards As was paternal, and As in turn treated Munin with filial respect.²⁸

Connections with randai: *Tukang sijobang* are linked in several ways to the world of *randai*. Nurman, for example, writes scripts and provides advice for a local *randai* company, Munin was formerly an *anak randai* (*randai* actor) and now directs the troupe in his village, and Sabirin has been asked to advise a nearby troupe. As, Sutan and Syaf, all young *tukang sijobang*, are also *anak randai*, and a former *tukang sijobang*, Syamsikar, is now the leader of a successful *randai* company. Sawi, Sutan's teacher, used to act in *randai* and has written many *randai* scripts, based both on the Anggun Nan Tungga story and on other Minangkabau legends. *Tukang sijobang* are well qualified to write *randai* scripts, not only because they know the story, but because in language and metre *randai* dialogue is very similar to *sijobang*. The most noticeable difference is that *randai* is usually performed in standard Minangkabau, whereas *tukang sijobang* sing in the Payakumbuh dialect with some influence from their local sub-dialects. It was also pointed out to me by *tukang sijobang* that *sijobang* is more *rapék* (closely-woven), i.e. it contains more detail, while *randai* is comparatively *jarang* (loosely-woven)-a difference one might indeed expect between a purely verbal form and one in which words are accompanied by actions.

Magical powers: In keeping with their non-Islamic image, *tukang sijobang* are reputed to have certain supernatural powers - a reputation which they do not try to play down. Some act as *dukun*, providing semi-magical treatment for illnesses. In addition to bewitching their rivals, *tukang sijobang* are thought to use special mystical knowledge (*ulému*) to learn the story, and it is believed that a performance of the last part of the story can cause a storm, unless the *tukang sijobang* takes the proper occult measures to prevent it. It is said, too, that *tukang sijobang* use magical knowledge (which they pass on to their pupils) to improve their voices, to overcome stage-fright, and in particular to fascinate women by their singing. Several *tukang sijobang* told me that they both could and did attract women to them by a supernatural power, called *pitunang*, which resides in the voice and is acquired by means of a charm (*du'a pitunang suaro*). The effect of the *pitunang* is to make women approach closer and closer to the singer as the night wears on. However, Munin told me that *tukang sijobang* were dangerous to women,

"like fragments of a plate". Consistently with their reputed power to captivate the opposite sex, *tukang sijobang* are sometimes said to marry with unusual frequency. Munin explained this partly as inherent in the storyteller's work: his travels take him away from home and wife and place him in the public gaze, thus exposing him to offers of matrimony. In fact, however, the *tukang sijobang* cannot be described as much-married by Minangkabau standards, for none of those whom I asked has been married more than nine times, and most of them not more than five.²⁹

NOTES

1. Of the printed versions mentioned here, the three which I have seen (Winstedt's edition, the *syair* version, and the 1962 version by Ambas Mahkota and Damhoeri) differ considerably in plot from the story sung by *tukang sijobang*. A summary of the *Sja'ir Anggoen Tji' Toenggäl* appears in Hooykaas, 1965, pp 180-181, and the *Hikayat Anggun Che' Tunggal* is summarised on pp vii-xi of the 1960 printing.
2. *Pupuik*. A wind instrument consisting of a 'reed' of split *padi*-stalk inserted into the top of a cone made by winding strips of palm-leaf round and round. The player maintains a continuous flow of sound by breathing in through the nose while blowing out through the mouth. The same technique, known in Minangkabau as *manyalisiehkan angok*, is used in playing the *salueng*. (See note 10)
Calémpong. A percussion ensemble in which six small gongs are held in pairs by three players, and struck on their bosses with wooden beaters to produce rapid contrapuntal music. Another form of *calémpong* consists of 5 gongs placed on a wooden frame. It is illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, Pl. XXV.
3. The information on Tiku and Pariaman in this paragraph was obtained in interviews with local officials and other people during visits to the area lasting only three days, and I was unable to check its accuracy.
4. In the local version of the story, Nan Tungga and Gandorih get married. One of their reputed descendants was the proprietress of the small café in Tiku at which I spent the night.
5. In this thesis place-names are spelt (except when they occur in the story) in the Indonesianized form normally used on maps, road-signs etc, and not as pronounced in *bahasa Minangkabau*. Thus Payakumbuh, not Payokumbueh, and Sarik Lawas, not Sariek Lawéh. (For phonetic correspondences between Minangkabau and Indonesian, see the section on Dialect in chapter III.)
6. The administrative division next below that of province. The province of West Sumatra contains eight *kabupaten*.
7. In parts of West Sumatra other than Tiku, Pariaman and Lima Puluh Kota, the story seems to be performed rather rarely. This impression

is based on interviews with officials of the Department of Education and Culture and others in every *kabupaten* except those of Solok and Sawahlunto/Sijunjung.

8. The Minangkabau martial art, which is characterised by vigorous but graceful movements.
9. The standard dialect is that used in the region of Bukittinggi, the principal town of the *kabupaten* of Agam.
10. *Salueng*. A bamboo flute which can produce five notes. On the method of breathing used in playing it, see note 2 above.
Robab. A spike-fiddle: a stringed instrument with a long neck and roughly hemispherical sound-box, which is held vertically and played with a bow. It is illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, Pl. XLI.
11. In a *hadith* (recorded saying of the Prophet) Muhammad is reported to have cursed men who dressed like women, and women who dressed like men. See Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, 1975, p 278.
12. This is forbidden in the Koran, Sura 24.31.
13. The contrast between serious Muslims and *paréwa* is clearly depicted in Hamka, 1938, especially pp 112-115 of the fourth impression (Jakarta, 1951). See also the remarks on *préman* (i.e. *paréwa*) in Muhammad Radjab, 1950, especially chapter 9.
14. For the remarks about *paréwa* in these two sentences I am indebted to Dr Khaidir Anwar. I was told about the use of *randai* for propaganda purposes by Sdr Syamsuhir Burhan of Payakumbuh. PRRI stands for *Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia*, i.e. the 'Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia' set up as part of an unsuccessful regionalist rebellion (see Lev, 1966, pp 28-43).
15. The tradition they were referring to is perhaps that according to which two girls were singing to A'isha when the Prophet came in; Abu Bakr rebuked A'isha, saying, "The pipe of the Devil in the presence of the Apostle of God!" But the Prophet said, "Let them alone." (See Houdas and Marçais, 1906, Tome Deuxième, Titre LVI, Chapitre LXXXI, p 317.) This and other traditions in favour of music and singing are mentioned in D B Macdonald, 1901, pp 224-226. I am indebted to Professor V L Ménage, Dr J E Wansbrough and Dr O Wright for guidance in this matter.
16. As to which night of the wedding festivities *sijombang* is performed, practice differs locally. At Limbukan, for example, it is customarily sung on an evening of preparation (*malam bagorak*), but elsewhere may be performed on the *malam basandieng*, when the bride and groom sit in state.
17. The process of choosing is usually begun by someone asking, *Ka ma curito awak malam ko?* (Where is our story going tonight?), to which the answer is the name of one or other part of the story, for example *Ka Gunueng* (To the Mountain).

18. *Pantun*. A verse-form found widely in the Malay world, usually consisting of quatrains rhyming *a b a b*, but also of verses of six, eight or more lines, rhyming *a b c a b c*, *a b c d a b c d*, and so on. The first half is usually unconnected with the second in sense, but foreshadows it in sound. The literature on *pantun* is summarised in Liaw, 1975, pp 285-292.
19. In this connection, the following proverb was quoted: *Ma nan bakuro, inyo nan manggigie*, 'whoever has malaria, he it is that shivers', i.e. 'if the cap fits, wear it'.
20. Dr Khaidir Anwar has told me that, in his youth in Situjuh, near Payakumbuh, those who wanted the *tukang sijobang* to sing *pantun* which were risqué (in Minangkabau, *runcieng*, literally 'pointed') would call out "*nan runcieng!*" ("a spicy one!"), and if the *tukang sijobang* (who was deaf) did not hear, they would convey their meaning by poking him.
21. A steel-stringed instrument which is laid across one knee, the strings being stopped by keys played with the left hand, and plucked with a plectrum held in the right.
22. A possible exception is *no lam*, in which two or more women sing stories to the accompaniment of *rabano* (a sort of tambourine). Julius Habib reported this to be found at Piobang in 1964 (Habib, 1969, p 12). In 1975 I gathered that *no lam* was virtually extinct, but that efforts were being made to preserve it.
23. They were Minsah of Tanjung Pati (died 1975), who taught Syaf, a young *tukang sijobang* now practising, and Mintan of Paya Basung.
24. These are Anas, who lost a leg; Mansur, who is blind; and Rustam, who is crippled in the legs.
25. Rasyid, who was frequently said to have been a highly accomplished *tukang sijobang*, was apparently killed by central government troops during the PRRI rebellion.
26. *Gantang*: Two litres. *Kabueng*: Two yards.
27. Personal communication, April 1976.
28. This was Munin's own description of As's behaviour. As would, for instance, help Munin in his fields and bring him medicine when ill. The closeness of their relationship was remarked on by my research assistant, Sdr Syamsuhir Burhan, who attributed it partly to the fact that Munin had no son.
29. That nine is not an exceptionally high matrimonial score has been confirmed to me by Dr Khaidir Anwar. He also points out that the men who are most sought-after as sons-in-law, because they bring most prestige to the families of their brides, are likely to be men of authority in religion or *adat* (customary law), rather than *tukang sijobang* or other entertainers.

On the high rates of divorce and polygyny in Minangkabau, see Schrijvers and Postel-Coster, 1977, pp 83-84.

TABLE OF INFORMATION ON TUKANG SIJOBANG

<u>Name</u>	<u>Place of residence</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Times married</u>	<u>Main sources of story and tunes</u>
Anas*	Ampalu	c30	M	?	?	Nurman
As	Sungai Talang	23	M	married	1	Munin
Bakaruddin	Gadut	48	M	?	?	grandparent
Bakhtiar*	Maur	?	M	?	?	?
Buyueng	Taeh	42	M	married	?	book; tunes from Rasyid
Jasa	Paya-kumbuh	55	M	married	?	name forgotten by Jasa
Juran	Alang Lawas	58	M	married	9	Turasan
Mansur*	Gadut	c40	M	?	?	Nurman
Minsah	Tanjung Pati	65	F	married	2	Léngah
Mintan*	Paya Basung		F	?	?	?
Munéh*	Maur	?	M	?	?	?
Munin	Kuranji	48	M	married	6	Suin, Rasyid
Nurman	Batu Payung	44	M	married	5	Barun
Rustam	Sungai Talang	45	M	married	?	Rasyid
Sabirin	Limbukan	54	M	married	4	Arun; tunes from Mintan
Suhir	Lampasi	38	M	married	1	Rasyid's teacher; Munin
Sutan	Sungai Talang	22	M	single	-	Sawi; tunes from others
Syaf	Tanjung Pati	21	M	single	-	Minsah

KEY * = not interviewed
 ? = not known
 - = not applicable

<u>Use(d) written sources or learning aids</u>	<u>Has had pupils</u>	<u>Pupils use(d) written materials</u>	<u>Length of story in full</u>	<u>Matchbox or kucapi</u>	<u>Other remarks</u>
no	?	?	?	kucapi	disabled
yes	no	-	-	matchbox	nephew of Rasyid; still learning
no	yes	no	14 nights	matchbox	
?	?	?	?	matchbox	
yes	yes	yes	26 nights	matchbox	
yes	no	-	?	matchbox	retired
no	? ¹	-	11 nights	matchbox	
no	?	?	?	kucapi	disabled
no	yes	yes	?	matchbox	died 1975
?	?	?	?	matchbox	died recently
?	?	?	?	matchbox	mentioned in Habib, 1969, p 13.
no	yes	yes	7 nights	matchbox	
no	yes	no	?	kucapi	
no	? ²	-	7 nights or more	matchbox	disabled
no	yes	no	7 nights	matchbox	
no	yes	yes	7 nights	matchbox	illiterate
yes	no	-	-	matchbox	son of Rasyid; still learning
yes	no	-	7 nights	matchbox	

Notes: 1 Juran claimed to have taught Nurman, who denied it.
2 Rustam claimed to have taught As, who denied it.

II

THE STORY OF ANGGUN NAN TUNGGGA IN LIMA PULUH KOTA TODAY

This chapter consists mainly of a summary in English of the story of Anggun Nan Tungga as narrated in full by the *tukang sijobang* Munin. The summary is preceded by an introduction dealing with some characteristics of the story in its oral form, the circumstances in which Munin's version was recorded, and the question of its authenticity. It is followed by a comparison of Munin's version with those of other *tukang sijobang*, and a brief discussion of some local attitudes to the story.

INTRODUCTION

Characteristics of the story

When reading the English summary, one is confronted by a single version of a continuous, coherent narrative, presented in a durable medium. It is necessary, therefore, to remind oneself that, in its oral form - the form in which it is usually experienced in Lima Puluh Kota - the story is presented in a transient medium, in fragments, and in differing and variable versions.

1. Impermanent medium: With the exception of a few copies of printed editions, the story exists in the transient form of *sijobang* and *randai* performances, which are unrecorded (apart from a number of cassettes of *sijobang*).
2. Fragmented form: The story is usually encountered by audiences in disconnected parts, not as a whole, and is perhaps normally thought of in the same way. The few people able to experience the story as a unity are those who possess printed editions, or those who listen throughout when a *tukang sijobang* performs the entire story over a period of several nights.¹ Usually, however, *sijobang* performances last only one night or part of a night, with the result that only a part of the story is told on any one occasion. A performance may consist of consecutive episodes, but it is also common for the *tukang sijobang* to be asked to sing two or three unconnected episodes. *Randai* performances, too, present episodes, not the whole story.

Is the story thought of as a coherent whole? My impression is that even Munin, an experienced *tukang* who can perform each constituent episode

in its entirety, and knows in what sequence the episodes should occur, may nevertheless be unaccustomed to looking at the story as a coherent unity. For there are certain inconsistencies in his version of the story, which he seemed unaware of, or at least unworried by, but which are obvious if one is considering the story as a connected whole.² This tallies with another impression I gained, namely that *tukang sijobang* most readily think of the story in one of two ways: either, at an abstract level, as the names of a series of episodes, or more concretely, in terms of the verbal detail of one episode or another. For, when I asked some *tukang sijobang* to summarise the story for me, they either merely named the ten or so main episodes, or began to recite the first episode in as much detail as if they were performing it.³

If it is true that *tukang sijobang* are unused to thinking of the story as a coherent plot, it is probably because they do not usually need to. For what is normally required of them is to sing a few of the more popular episodes (certain episodes are rarely or never requested, I was told), and not necessarily in the proper sequence. If, on rare occasions, they have to tell the story from beginning to end, the sheer length of the narrative, and its division into separate nightly performances, probably hinder them (and their audiences) from seeing the episodes as interconnected parts of a larger plot. The *tukang sijobang*'s training, in which episodes are learnt in order of popularity (in accordance with the demands of performance), may also encourage a fragmented conception of the story.

If even *tukang sijobang* conceive of the story in a somewhat piecemeal way, we can assume that the general public have a still less coherent idea of it, and this is, in fact, the impression I received. It may even be that many of the ordinary public think, not of a single 'story of Anggun Nan Tungga' composed of consecutive episodes, but of a number of separate stories about Anggun Nan Tungga, occurring in no particular order. However, this can only be determined by further enquiry.

3. Differing versions: Versions of the story performed in Lima Puluh Kota differ somewhat from one *tukang sijobang* to another, and no one version is regarded as standard. This is not simply a matter of the diversity of language and style which one would expect to find among a number of storytellers, but of differences in the outline of the plot, and the content of particular scenes. These differences will be discussed later in this chapter.

4. Variability: A *tukang sijobang*'s performance of any episode varies from one occasion to the next, not in important features of plot, but rather in degree of elaboration and in choice of language. This feature of *sijobang* will be considered at greater length in the fourth chapter.

Obtaining a version of the story

Before I had been long in Payakumbuh, I had discovered, from interviews with *tukang sijobang*, that the stories told in performances of *rondai* and *sijobang* were parts of a larger story about Anggun Nan Tungga. I decided that I would try to acquire a knowledge of the full story, so as to be able to place the performances in context. After failing to elicit, from two *tukang sijobang* and some other people, a summary of the plot which was more than a list of the main episodes, I thought it best to record a performance of the entire story by an experienced *tukang sijobang*.

There were two alternatives. The first was to record the story in sung form. However, according to most of the *tukang sijobang* I asked, this would take at least seven nights, i.e. about fifty hours of tape, which seemed too much material to transcribe and digest in the time available. The second alternative was to record the story in recited form, and this I chose to do for the following reasons. It was, I had been told, the form in which *tukang sijobang* transmitted to their pupils the essentials (*batang*) of the story, minus the ornamental extras (*bungo*) which were added in performance. It was thus a somewhat condensed, but still authentic, form of the story, which would take less time to record (and so allow more time to work on it), both because it was condensed and because the spoken form was delivered more rapidly than the sung.

After meeting eight other *tukang sijobang*, I asked Munin, a *tukang sijobang* living in Kuranji, about eight miles north-west of Payakumbuh, to record the story. He had the advantage that he was experienced (aged about 48), had a pupil (As), and said that he could recite the story in eight hours (an over-optimistic estimate, as it turned out). In addition he was likeable and lived at not too great a distance. Munin agreed, and I was enrolled as his pupil with a brief ceremony in which he received and censed the *syarat baguru* and promised to tell me the story as well as he could.

Recordings, which began the same evening, followed a fairly regular pattern. Munin would sit and recite for 1½-2 hours, with breaks every 40 minutes or so for refreshment. As he spoke, his eyes were either closed or

looking into space, and rarely glanced at his listeners. The pace of recitation was quite rapid (about 145 words a minute) on the first two nights, but thereafter, at my request, Munin slowed down (to about 105 words per minute). Even at this speed, Munin's ability to recite such long, unbroken stretches of blank verse impressed me greatly, and I found it easy to understand why some *tukang sijobang* admitted to getting 'lost' if they tried to recite (rather than sing) at any length. Munin himself said he found recitation more difficult than singing because it was faster.

There were 16 such recording sessions, of which seven took place in the evening at Munin's house, two at another house in Kuranji, and one at a house in Payakumbuh. A further six sessions were held in the daytime in Munin's *dangau* (hut) at his maize garden half a mile from the village. At the evening sessions in houses, there was always an audience of between ten and twenty people of both sexes and all ages, who listened quietly, now and then responding appreciatively to *pantun*, and usually commenting or asking questions during intervals or when recording was finished. At the *dangau* there was usually an audience of about four or five, but once or twice it was reduced to myself and Syamsuhir Burhan, an official of the local Cultural Development Office who always accompanied me at recording sessions. In general Munin preferred to record in the evenings, in his own house or another, because he found the atmosphere more appropriate, and the relatives and friends who came to listen naturally also preferred this arrangement. On one occasion the recital took place in the *dangau* at 8.00 a.m. at Munin's request, so as to avoid certain mystical dangers associated with the last part of the story, but on other occasions the *dangau* was chosen for more mundane reasons, so far as I know. On one of the evenings when the recitation was held at the other house in Kuranji, I was told that the story that evening was *romantis*, and Munin preferred not to recite it before his immediate family.

Recording of the story went on for slightly over two months at a rate of one or two sessions per week, and resulted in about 23 hours of tape. These were transcribed, with the help of Syamsuhir Burhan and frequent reference to Munin, over a period of about three months. The transcription consists of about 40,000 metrical phrases, or 'lines'.

Authenticity of Munin's version

It may be asked, how authentic was the version recited by Munin, considering the unusual circumstances in which it was recorded? I was, after

all, an unknown foreigner, not a genuine pupil intending to become a *tukang sijobang*, and it is therefore natural to wonder whether Munin gave me a substantially shortened version (either in order to save himself time and trouble, or because he thought I had no need to know the story in full); or whether he purposely spun the story out, because he was being paid R. 1,000 per hour of recitation; or whether he perhaps bowdlerised or otherwise edited the story especially to suit me.

As regards abbreviation, it is true that on the first evening of recording Munin gave a slightly shortened account of the opening episodes. He admitted this later, explaining that at first he had doubted my seriousness of purpose, and subsequently re-recorded the first episodes in a fuller form. There may have been other such omissions in the early stages.

I am also aware of one slight alteration which Munin made specially for my benefit, namely to substitute *urang kunieng* (yellow men) for *urang putieh* (white men) when referring to the men taken captive by Anggun Nan Tungga when vanquishing a Dutch fleet. Munin later admitted to having made the change out of regard for my feelings, and it is possible that he made other small adjustments of which I am not aware.

However, in addition to the recited version, I also recorded Munin singing *sijobang* in perfectly normal circumstances - both performing publicly (twice in *lopau* and once at a wedding) and singing for the audience which gathered to hear the recital sessions (once at his own house, three times at others). Comparison of these sung performances (which total about five hours) with the corresponding passages of the recited version shows that the spoken and sung versions are almost completely identical with regard to the essential sequence of events in each episode, and do not differ greatly in length (in no case by more than 25%). In other words, the differences between them are like those normally found between two sung performances of the same episode by the same *tukang sijobang* (differences which will be discussed in chapter IV). Hence it seems unlikely that Munin did, in fact, substantially alter his recited version to suit me (unless even his sung performances were rendered inauthentic by my presence, which I doubt).⁴ Even if he had wanted to change the story, the presence of an interested audience, sometimes including his pupil As, would probably have helped to restrain Munin from altering it much. However, on the contrary it appeared to me that, after initial doubts, he took the recitation seriously, being careful to ensure silence while he recited, and dealing conscientiously with my questions.

Divisions of the story

Tukang sijobang speak of the story as being divided into a number of parts or episodes (*babak, tonggak*). The number of parts named varies from two to a dozen or more (one *tukang sijobang* named as many as 26), depending on whether major or minor divisions are meant. On the names of the main episodes there seems to be general agreement.

Below are listed the main divisions and sub-divisions of the story mentioned by Munin, in what he said was their correct order. Excepting *Mulo Ka Kayo*, which he recorded last, it is also the order in which Munin recorded his spoken version of the story. The names of the divisions are used as headings and sub-headings in the English summary.⁵

<i>Mulo ka kayo</i>	How they became rich
<i>Ka Galanggang Nan Kodo Baha</i>	To the tournament of Nan Kodo Baha
KA LAUK	To sea
<i>Ka Koto Bintawai</i>	To Bintawai
<i>Maalah kopah nan tujueh</i>	Defeating the seven ships
<i>Maanta Intan Korong</i>	Taking Intan Korong home
<i>Ka Tanau</i>	To Tanau
<i>Ka Ruhun</i>	To Ruhun
<i>Malopéh anak nuri</i>	Releasing the parrot
<i>Mandugombak</i>	Mandugombak
<i>Ka Tiku</i>	To Tiku
KA GUNUENG	To the mountain
<i>Ka Gunueng Lédang</i>	To Gunueng Ledang
<i>Ka Koto Indojati</i>	To Indojati
<i>Ka Galanggang Alam Tansudin</i>	To the tournament of Alam Tansudin
<i>Ka Gunueng Bénsén</i>	To Gunueng Bensen
<i>Ka Gunueng Ijau</i>	To Gunueng Ijau

The nature of the summary

The English summary which follows is about 40,000 words long - slightly over a quarter of the length (in words) of the Minangkabau original. It is, however, a less drastic reduction of the original than the figures suggest. For the Minangkabau narrative contains much repetition: not only is the sense of a line frequently repeated in the line or lines which follow it, but also actions are often described two or three times - when

when commanded, when performed, and when reported. (This feature of *sijobang* is discussed in Chapter III.) As a result, it has been possible, in summarising, to cut the number of words by a high percentage, but still retain most of the essential content of the original. The resulting summary steers a middle course between the disadvantages of a full translation (too long for this thesis) and those of a briefer summary, in which much of the value and interest of the original would be lost. With regard to language, the summary is in prose and makes no attempt to reproduce the metre of the Minangkabau narrative. Furthermore, what was direct speech in the original has, with a few exceptions, been turned into indirect speech in the summary, in the interests of brevity.

SUMMARY

HOW THEY BECAME RICH⁶

At midnight one night, Gondorinah⁷ lay anxious and sleepless in her *anjueng*.⁸ She began to sigh and moan, at which her mother Omai Manah,⁹ afraid lest the neighbours should hear, told the maid Kombang Malang¹⁰ to go and see if Gondorinah was ill. Kombang Malang went up into the *anjueng* and asked Gondorinah if she was ill or something else was wrong. Gondorinah replied that she was not ill but was moaning because she had been thinking and had realised that, even at her age,¹¹ she was ignorant of how her family had become rich in *padi* and gold and a source of help to others in Pariaman. Kombang Malang suggested that she should ask her mother, Gondorinah agreed, and they both went down into the house. There the three of them sat down together, and Omai Manah asked Gondorinah to explain her unexpected weeping. Gondorinah answered that she was not ill, and that there was no need to seek a *dukun* or prepare remedies. She was disquieted because she wanted to know how the family had become so wealthy - was it by farming? was it by trading?

Omai Manah said that Gondorinah's question showed that she had become wise. Who had taught her to ask about such things? No one had taught her, Gondorinah replied. She was growing older and the thought had simply come to her. Omai Manah said that in the past the family had not lived as comfortably as they did now. They had possessed wet-rice land and gardens and had worked them, going out at cock-crow with their implements. At first their plantations had been on red earth, where there had been no need to clear the land, but the crops had failed. Then they had cultivated land in the great forest, planting rice in an area which took three months to burn and used 100 *gantang*¹² of seed. They had planted rice, maize, gourds, turmeric and pepper. Thanks to their hard work the crops had grown, and through God's bounty and Omai Manah's thrift they had managed to save up. Such had been the origins of their wealth. Gondorinah asked her mother's forgiveness and said that she now fully understood how they had become rich. The three women then talked together until daybreak.

TO THE TOURNAMENT OF NAN KODO BAH¹³

Anggun Nan Tungga,¹⁴ the only son of his mother Conto Pomai,¹⁵ had three names: when young, Si Badu Roman; when he grew up, Si Jobang Sati; and now Anggun Nan Tungga. He was a prince of Tiku Pariaman,¹⁶ and to his mother he was like a favourite chicken, and as precious as a last remaining bird-snare.

Nan Kodo Baha was holding a tournament in Sunue Kurai Taji.¹⁷ He had abducted a princess, Intan Korong,¹⁸ from Pasisie when she was still young, and had sailed off with her. Now that she was of age, his intention was going to be realised.¹⁹ The distant were invited by letter, and those nearby with a betel-bowl. After receiving four invitations, Anggun Nan Tungga went to the tournament. Various contests were in progress and bets being laid, and Nan Tungga joined in. Because he was of equal status with Nan Kodo Baha, Nan Tungga competed against him. First they played chess: Nan Tungga won and received the stakes. Then they had a shooting match, and Anggun Nan Tungga won again. They competed in shooting with blow-pipes, and again Nan Tungga was the winner. Next was a cock-fight, in which Anggun Tungga's cock was victorious.²⁰ Nan Kodo Baha felt ashamed. Their final contest was in kicking the wicker ball. Each side laid heavy bets of gold, silver, possessions and land. Still unsatisfied, Nan Kodo Baha wagered all his ships and their cargoes, and Nan Tungga countered with his 12-roomed house and seven rice-barns. Finally Nan Kodo staked his fiancée, Intan Korong, and Nan Tungga his, Gondorih. They began to play, before a large crowd, with the elders as witnesses and the *pangulu*²¹ keeping a record. When they had run back and forth two or three times, the ball slipped from Nan Kodo's foot and the spectators shouted loudly that Nan Kodo Baha had lost. All the winnings went to the Tiku side, and Nan Kodo Baha's ships were stripped of all their contents, down to the very nails.

Feeling humiliated, Nan Kodo Baha decided to insult Nan Tungga in public. He declared that Nan Tungga's five maternal uncles²² had gone to sea many years before, and had been captured by the Dutch and imprisoned by Tombi Bosa.²³ Why had Nan Tungga not sought the lost and rescued the drowning? If the men of Tiku had pawned or sold these uncles, they should have been redeemed. Or was Tiku too poor? Nan Tungga, he said, was unfit to be a prince. He should take off his crown,

sit by the loom, wear ear-rings and grow his hair in plaits.

Ashamed and distressed, Nan Tungga made no reply. With Abang Salamat²⁴ he returned to Tiku, taking Intan Korong with him. When he got home, he went to his mother and asked her about his five uncles. It was a matter which she had kept secret.²⁵

TO SEA

One day Nan Tungga assembled the people of Tiku Pariaman and ordered them to build a long ship in which to seek his lost uncles. The ship was soon completed and lay at anchor. After deep and careful thought,²⁶ Nan Tungga made up his mind to go to sea, and the people of Tiku agreed to this. Everyone in Tiku Pariaman - old and young, men and women - came to the shore to see Nan Tungga off. At a propitious moment the ship sailed, while those on shore wept. Then Gondorih went out to the ship in a boat, and she and Anggun Nan Tungga made solemn vows. She would allow him to go on condition that he fulfilled 120 requests, of which she named the following: a single *kupang*²⁷ even in number; an open-work cooking-pot which lifts itself up, never spills oil and cooks without fire, needing only to be stirred (but only by Gondorih herself); a betel-bowl which circulates by itself; a little knife with a palm-blossom handle; 14 black men and 16 white men; a bowl as small as a thumb, but containing a road, a bathing-place, a council-hall and a mosque; a monkey which can whistle and another which can play the *kucapi*.²⁸ Furthermore Gondorih made Nan Tungga promise solemnly to return in seven months.²⁹ Then she returned to shore.

With Abang Salamat at the oars the ship sped out to sea. Days, weeks and months passed. One day, in an unknown part of the ocean, the ship came to a halt and could not be rowed either forwards or backwards. Wondering if the ship was being held back by a *jîn*, Salamat woke Nan Tungga and asked what should be done. Anggun Nan Tungga told him not to be anxious, but to order the diver to go down and see if anything was obstructing the ship. At Abang Salamat's command, the diver descended into the sea, taking a supply of rice with him, but could find no obstruction. He reported this to Abang Salamat, who told Anggun Nan Tungga and asked what to do now. Bidding Abang Salamat wait, Nan Tungga went to the *malin*,³⁰ and asked him to use his magic power to summon a

whirlwind which would send the ship on its way. The *malin* prayed and called on the winds, concentrating his mind so effectively that tempestuous gales descended, whinnying and bellowing, from the sky and whirled the ship out of the sea, over plains and mountains and up to heaven, into the presence of Tuanku Soru Alam,³¹ the father of Puti Roani. Here Nan Tungga was taught for two weeks and acquired the magical lore of Tuanku Soru Alam, while the ship was supported in mid-air by angels. The vessel then descended again to the ocean like a falling leaf, and moved swiftly forward through the waves and over the foam.

TO BINTAWAI

Three days later the ship came to an unknown part of the sea. Abang Salamat was uncertain: what coasts and promontories were these? After anchoring the ship and furling the sails, he took the diamond telescope, the Achinese compass and the book of divination and tried to establish the ship's position. He looked in four directions: into the sky, into the earth, to sea, and to the thunder and lightning. He could see a promontory and what seemed a suitable harbour, but feared to take the ship there in case it should be a haunted or forbidden place. Abang Salamat then told Nan Tungga that he had looked in four directions, and asked him the name of the promontory, but Nan Tungga replied that he was as inexperienced at sea as Abang Salamat, and sent him to ask Intan Korong, whom they had brought with them to serve as a guide and a bright torch, because she had voyaged far with Nan Kodo Baha.

Abang Salamat hurried to Intan Korong's cabin, knocked and went in. Intan Korong was asleep. When he had called to her three times to wake up, and she had slept on, Abang Salamat became angry. He reminded her of his warning that she would have more hardship than pleasure on this voyage. They were not trading, or making the pilgrimage to Mecca, but trying - so long as they had the breath of a fish or the life of a dragon-fly - to find Nan Tungga's lost uncles and blot out his disgrace. If she went on sleeping, she would only burden the ship and use up their rice. He would do better to take her back to Tiku, where she could sleep in her *anjueng*. At this Intan Korong woke with a start and asked why Abang Salamat had woken her at mid-day, as it was not yet time to eat or drink. What burden was there for her to fetch? Abang Salamat replied that she grieved him by offering to fetch burdens. His reason for coming was to seek her help in naming the unknown shore.

At Intan Korong's suggestion they both went to the *pangipak*,³² from where she looked at the coast and, after careful thought, recognised it. She told Abang Salamat that she had been there with Nan Kodo Baha. It was the promontory of Bintawai,³³ and there were two towns, Bintawai downstream and Bandilo³⁴ upstream. There was a good harbour at the end of the promontory, but it was forbidden to strangers. The king of Bintawai was the famous Tombi Bosa, who was betrothed to Dayang Daini. He was a cruel and arbitrary ruler, who refused to repay debts or redress wrongs, and who imprisoned passing strangers. Then Intan Korong told Abang Salamat how three brothers, traders in silk and cloths, had once anchored at Bintawai, had been seized by Tombi's men and were now his slaves. The three had been men of Tiku Pariaman, perhaps fellow-countrymen of Abang Salamat and Nan Tungga.

When Abang Salamat heard this he realised the truth and was silent and sorrowful. Intan Korong asked if she had offended him, but he explained that he was silent because he thought that the three prisoners of Tombi Bosa might be three of Nan Tungga's lost uncles. Then Intan Korong returned to her cabin, and Abang Salamat went and reported to Nan Tungga everything that Intan Korong had told him. Enraged at Tombi Bosa's treatment of the men from Tiku, Nan Tungga ordered Abang Salamat to sail hard to Bintawai. They would seek what was lost and strive, so long as they had as much breath as a fish, to find the missing uncles. Abang Salamat turned the helm and spread the sails. The oars were plied, the mast nodded and the ship sped through the waves and over the foam until it reached the coast of Bintawai. There Abang Salamat cast anchor within rowing distance of the shore, and went to ask Anggun Nan Tungga for further orders.

Nan Tungga said that he, Abang Salamat and the *malin* would go ashore. He told Abang Salamat to summon the *malin*, and to sound the three gongs and tell Nan Tungga's 300 followers that they must stay and guard the ship. He must keep secret their reason for going ashore. Abang Salamat hurried off and told the *malin* that Nan Tungga wished to speak to him. Then he struck the three gongs, at which the 300 followers were thrown into confusion and drew their swords. The helmsman asked why the gongs had been struck: had pirates attacked? had a divorcee been disgraced? was a *pangulu* in debt? Abang Salamat replied, deceitfully, that the ship had nearly run out of rice and betel, and that Nan Tungga, the *malin* and he were going ashore to get fresh supplies. He had sounded the gongs in order to inform them. They must remain on board, and if Bugis attacked

they were to fight them. The 300 followers believed this and sheathed their swords.

Abang Salamat and the *malin* went to Anggun Nan Tungga's cabin, where he told the *malin* about Tombi Bosa and his three prisoners, and the plan that they should go ashore in search of the lost uncles. The three of them were in agreement, and at Nan Tungga's command Abang Salamat fetched three ancestral swords and made the tow-boat ready. The *malin* rowed, Abang Salamat bailed, and the boat quickly reached the end of the promontory. Mooring the boat, they climbed to the top of the promontory and looked about them. The place was deserted, but they saw a long, straight road and walked along it, Nan Tungga in front, the *malin* second and Abang Salamat in the rear, each armed with a sword.

At a place where three ways met stood a boy of about twelve. He was paid by Tombi Bosa to wait there for passing strangers. Usually, as soon as he saw one coming, he would run and tell Tombi Bosa, so that he could add to the number of his captives. But on that day the boy stood stock-still as Nan Tungga approached. When Nan Tungga's gaze met his, his heart was troubled and he asked himself: "Where does this prince come from? Few men are as handsome, and rare is the princess fit to be his bride." Anggun Nan Tungga greeted the boy and asked why one so young was not at home rather than at these deserted crossroads. The boy replied that, though young, he was employed by Tombi Bosa to tell him if strangers approached, so that they could be imprisoned, and he asked Nan Tungga his name and where he came from. Nan Tungga told him his name and said that he was a prince of Tiku Pariaman, and then asked where the three roads led.

The boy replied that one road led to Bandilo. However, Nan Tungga must not take this road, because Bindurai³⁵ Sati (also called Gajogun Lauk), who was ruler of Bandilo and commander of seven ships, imprisoned and punished passing strangers. The second road, going in the opposite direction, led to Tombi Bosa's domain of Bintawai and the diamond-treasury. This road, too, the boy forbade Nan Tungga to follow, because the treasury was guarded by 60 of Tombi Bosa's men, all armed with swords, who made prisoners of any who went that way. The middle road, said the boy, led to the plain of Gala Geto, a vast and empty expanse with Bandilo on one side and Bintawai on the other. There, too, Nan Tungga must not go, for in the middle of the plain one of Tombi Bosa's prisoners was kept, chained hand and foot and buried up to the waist. If Nan Tungga were there when

Tombi Bosa's guards came, he too would suffer.

Nan Tungga asked the name of the chained prisoner, and the boy said that it was Panduko Rajo. He was one of three brothers, all prisoners. The second oldest, Kadirullah, was a swine-herd in Bintawai, sleeping in the pig-sty and spending the day cutting *taléh*-stalks³⁶ while herding swine. The youngest brother, Kojo Intan, was a slave of Bindurai Sati in Bandilo, carrying heavy loads and eating Bindurai's scraps. All three came from Tiku Pariaman, perhaps from Nan Tungga's village. Once they had been gold, now they were brass filings; once the flower of Pariaman, now they were victims of fate.

Hearing this, Abang Salamat wept. When the boy asked why, Nan Tungga said that Abang Salamat was compassionate by nature and usually wept when told of someone in distress. Nan Tungga then said that he would go and question Panduko Rajo, in case they were related, so that any debts could be discharged. But the boy urged him not to go, because every afternoon at about that time all the young men of Bintawai went to punch, kick and spit on Panduko Rajo, and if Nan Tungga were there he would suffer too. Nan Tungga answered that he would tread the path of custom, paying any debts with money or his life; but the boy asked Nan Tungga to take pity on him, for if he allowed a stranger to pass, he would himself be hanged or beheaded in punishment. It was out of pity for Nan Tungga that he had not called the guards to arrest him.

Nan Tungga decided to trick the boy, and said that although he had not mentioned it so far, and of course the boy could not know it, he and Tombi Bosa were close friends who had been at sea together. He had come now because he missed his old friend, but before going to Tombi's house he would visit the plain of Gala Geto for the sake of exercise and out of interest. Deceived by Nan Tungga's winning words, the boy reproached him for not revealing his friendship with Tombi sooner, said he hoped he had not offended Nan Tungga, and allowed them to go.

Nan Tungga and his two companions took the middle road, and after passing through the plain of Ribu-Ribu,³⁷ reached the edge of the plain of Gala Geto, which stretched as far as they could see. In the distance, Nan Tungga made out the figure of Panduko Rajo and, full of emotion, pointed it out to the others. Urging them to be resolute, he said that they would go and break Panduko Rajo's chains by magic. However, they would not disclose that they came from Tiku, but would wait for Panduko Rajo to reveal his

identity. Abang Salamat proposed that they should then go and fight Tombi Bosa, ransack the diamond-treasury, destroy the pig-sty and make silent the village of Bintawai, so that even the cocks ceased to crow. They all agreed and, sword in hand, walked towards Panduko Rajo.

Panduko Rajo was bewailing his fate in *pantun* when he saw three young men approaching with swords in their hands. Afraid that they were Tombi Bosa's guards coming to execute him, he summoned up his courage, and recited the *fatihah*³⁸ and put his trust in Allah. When Nan Tungga, the *malin* and Abang Salamat came up, they were moved by the sight of Panduko Rajo's sufferings, and Salamat sat and wept. Nan Tungga asked Panduko Rajo who was punishing him and why - had he been banished from his village? Panduko Rajo said that Tombi Bosa was punishing him, and described his afflictions. Then he urged them to return home at once, lest they too should suffer when the young men of Bintawai came to strike and kick him. Nan Tungga replied that the lost should be sought: had he no relatives? where was his home? Panduko Rajo said that he was one of three brothers from Tiku Pariaman, who had gone to sea to trade in cloth, leaving their young sister Contoh Pomai at home. They had anchored at Bintawai and been seized by Tombi's men. At first he had been kept chained in Bintawai, where every passer-by struck him. One day he had tried to break his chains by spiritual power. His shout had made palm trees fall, and Tombi Bosa had transferred him to the plain of Gala Geto. His name, he said, was Panduko Rajo, his younger brother was herding swine for Tombi Bosa, and the youngest was a slave of Gajogun Lauk in Bandilo. Once they had been gold, now they were brass filings.

As soon as Panduko Rajo had spoken, the *malin* and Nan Tungga concentrated their spiritual strength, and Abang Salamat struck the chains, which crumbled to dust. They embraced Panduko Rajo and lifted him up. At a loss how to repay them, he offered to be their servant, but Nan Tungga refused, revealing that he was Conto Pomai's son and Panduko Rajo's nephew. At this Panduko Rajo collapsed in tears, declaring his joy and gratitude that his nephew had found the lost and saved the drowning. Conto Pomai had been a little girl in plaits when he left home. Nan Tungga said that they had sailed as far as Ambon and Malacca, and would have braved hell-fire, in their search for Panduko Rajo. Now they would take him home. Panduko Rajo asked how it was that Nan Tungga, though still so young, had come in search of them, and who had told him that his uncles had gone to sea? Nan Tungga explained how Nan Kodo Baha had taunted him with the revelation that his uncles were

held by the Dutch,³⁹ although his mother had purposely kept the matter secret. Now, said Nan Tungga, they would go and rescue Kadirullah and requite Tombi Bosa. Abang Salamat gave Panduko Rajo fresh clothing purposely brought from Tiku, and the four of them went to the cross-roads, from which the boy had now disappeared. Nan Tungga proposed that Panduko Rajo should not accompany the others to Bintawai, since the guards would recognise him and attack them, whereas by themselves they would be able to deceive the guards with pleasant words. So Panduko Rajo stayed at the cross-roads and hid himself, while Anggun Nan Tungga, the *malin* and Abang Salamat hastened, swords in their hands, along the road to Bintawai.

When the 60 guards of the diamond-treasury looked down the road and saw three young men approaching them, armed with swords, pandemonium broke loose as they drew their swords and took up positions in readiness for a fight. Nan Tungga drew his companions' attention to the armed guards, and urged them to strengthen their resolve. The *malin* replied that he would magically drug the minds of the guards, so that their anger would give way to pity, and as they went the *malin* prayed within him to his *guru*. When Anggun Nan Tungga came near, and the guards saw his comely appearance, they whispered among themselves: "Where does this prince come from? Few nobles are as handsome"; and through the efficacy of the *malin*'s petition, their feelings turned from wrath to pity and sadness.

Anggun Nan Tungga assured the guards that they need not draw their swords, for he and his friends were not pirates or merchants, but had come for an important purpose. The guards replied that they were glad that Nan Tungga and his companions were not, as they had suspected, enemies; and they asked Nan Tungga where he came from and what was his name. They did not usually permit strangers to pass, but they felt merciful toward one so young and handsome. Nan Tungga answered deceitfully that his name was Rajo Mudo and that he came from far away where the lightning flashed and the thunder roared. He had come to see his good friend Tombi Bosa, with whom (as the guards could not of course be aware) he had been at sea in the old days, and of whom he thought day and night. Where was Tombi's house? Hoodwinked, the guards told Nan Tungga to follow the road a short distance, and he would see on his right the palace where Tombi Bosa lived with his betrothed, Dayang Daini.

Nan Tungga and his companions took their leave and walked on some distance. Then Nan Tungga stopped and, in a lowered voice, told the others that he would go and fight Tombi Bosa alone while they returned to the

treasure-house and engaged the guards in friendly conversation. When they heard a loud thump from Tombi Bosa's *anjung*, they were to kill the guards. Nan Tungga then walked on alone, while the *malin* and Abang Salamat went back to the treasury, where they conversed courteously and smoked cigarettes with the guards.

Nan Tungga advanced resolutely until he saw Tombi Bosa's house on his right, then entered the courtyard. Signalling the arrival of a nobleman, the five geese honked, the pigeons flew up, the cock crew, the parakeet sang, and the turtledove cooed. Startled by these sounds, the maid Kombang Malang ran to look out of the window and saw Nan Tungga in the courtyard. She said to herself: "No wonder the geese honked and the birds flew up. Where did this prince come from? Out of the earth or down from heaven?"

Full of wrath, Nan Tungga crossed the yard and mounted the five carved steps. Kombang Malang met him in the kitchen and asked him what his name was and where he came from. He answered that he was Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince from Tiku Pariaman, and asked to meet Tombi Bosa. Kombang Malang replied that Tombi was asleep in the *anjung* and that she was reluctant to rouse him, because whatever time of day she woke him he threatened her with a sword, and she feared for her life. Nan Tungga again asked her to call Tombi Bosa, assuring her that Tombi would not be angry if she mentioned his name and said he was from Tiku Pariaman. Kombang Malang climbed the steps to the *anjung* and called to Tombi Bosa to wake up, saying that a nobleman from Tiku Pariaman had entered the house uninvited, like a dragonfly. Tombi Bosa immediately sat up, sensing that wrong was about to be righted. He took his Achinese dagger and, leaving Dayang Daini, went down into the house, where Anggun Nan Tungga was.

At the sight of Nan Tungga's beauty, Tombi's heart softened, and he warned Nan Tungga obliquely that the bereaved would be sorry. It was he, Tombi Bosa, who settled disputes here, yet Nan Tungga had come in unasked, like a dragonfly, and was spreading confusion and strife. Nan Tungga replied courteously that he had come because Tombi Bosa was renowned for his good manners, and reproached Tombi for his rude reception. Tombi warned Nan Tungga not to be insolent, or try to impose his customs on others. According to his own customs, said Tombi, wrongs were not requited, debts were not paid, people were beheaded for the slightest wrong, and strangers were imprisoned. Nan Tungga was young; he should go back

to Pariaman now, rather than give his fiancée cause for sorrow.

Nan Tungga answered that the tangled ought to be made straight, and the muddy made clear. He asked what wrong Panduko Rajo, Kadirullah and Kojo Intan had done. If they had committed crimes, he would pay whatever was owed. Shouting and stamping, Tombi Bosa told Nan Tungga to stop talking about his uncles. They were captives, they could not be redeemed, the tangled could not be made straight. If he were not kind-hearted he would enslave Nan Tungga too. He could beat Nan Tungga in a fight all too easily - it would be like a meal which did not satisfy - and Nan Tungga had better go home. Anggun Nan Tungga chided Tombi for not answering his question and for talking like a child. A ruler ought to make the tangled straight and the muddy clear. Had Tombi Bosa not heard of the fame of Nan Tungga, known at sea as Sutan Palangga, the attacker of infidels and Dutchmen? He would now, as the saying went, warm himself while the rice cooked,⁴⁰ by rescuing his uncles and practising his *silék* steps at the same time. Nan Tungga took a step, Tombi leapt forward and they began to exchange blows. While they fought Nan Tungga remembered Abang Salamat and the *malin*, and he made a thump as a signal.

Thanks to the winning words of Abang Salamat and the *malin*, the 60 guards had hung up their swords and were passing cigarettes and betel to each other. Then Abang Salamat heard the thump from Tombi Bosa's house and winked at the *malin*, and in the middle of the conversation they suddenly drew their swords and began to cut down the guards like ferns or sugar-cane. Their swords ate without leaving any scraps, heads fell like coconuts, and Abang Salamat and the *malin* swam in blood. Then they seized the contents of the treasure-house to take back to Tiku Pariaman as proof. There were loads of diamonds, gold, silver and copper.

In Tombi Bosa's house, Nan Tungga and Tombi were still fighting. By ill luck Tungga made a false step, and Tombi seized and held him. Drawing his dagger he told Nan Tungga to yield his body and soul. Had he not said he would win easily? At that moment Nan Tungga called upon Tuanku Soru Alam. Concentrating his thoughts, he managed to escape from Tombi's grip. Tombi then challenged Tungga to stab him, saying he was invulnerable and the blade would bend back. Nan Tungga drew his magic sword Janéwi, which could kill with a scratch or by stabbing a footprint, and which, once drawn, refused to be sheathed before tasting blood. Tombi Bosa drew his dagger. Nan Tungga sprang forward, Tombi avoided

him; Nan Tungga wounded Tombi's ear, so that the blood flowed, and told him to look in the mirror - where had he bought his ear-ring?⁴¹ Tombi stamped forward angrily, Tungga evaded him, then swung his sword and cut off Tombi's head. Blood spurted over Nan Tungga and flowed everywhere.

With Tombi Bosa dead, Nan Tungga's desires began to rove. Forgetting his promise to Gondorihah, he planned to pluck the flower of Bintawai. He called to Dayang Daini to come down from the *anjueng*. She got up sleepily and came down into the house. There she met Nan Tungga, his clothes red with blood, and saw the headless corpse of her betrothed. She ran to it, tore her hair and wept that she had no one to depend on now. Comforting her, Nan Tungga urged her not to mourn and invited her to sail with him to Pariaman, where she would live in an *anjueng* attended by servants. Dayang Daini declined, saying that he was fine cloth and she a mere rag; he was an ocean, she a stream. But Nan Tungga declared that the world would tilt beneath his feet if his request were not granted, and offered her his body and soul. Dayang Daini again refused: supposing Nan Tungga already had a fiancée in Tikou, Dayang Daini would be ignored. Who then would console her? Let Nan Tungga seek another to depend on - there were many to choose from. Angry at being rejected, Nan Tungga drew his sword and threatened to kill her if she still refused. Dayang Daini told him not to be so short-tempered. She would be happy to come with him. For her it was an unexpected piece of luck - like hoping for a shoot and getting a salad. So long as he was at the helm, she would gladly sail with him for the island of Langgopuri.⁴² Nan Tungga asked her to forgive his hasty words. He had not really been angry, only trying to discover her real feelings.

Dayang Daini said she would change her clothes and ornaments, and fetched them from a chest. She asked Nan Tungga to judge which looked best, so that she would not be ashamed in Tikou. After oiling her hair three times and combing it, she told Nan Tungga to choose one of three hair-styles. When she had arranged her hair and pinned it in place, Nan Tungga praised her coiffure in *pantun*. Then Dayang Daini said goodbye to the house, and the pair walked towards the treasure-house in high spirits. Nan Tungga had forgotten his vow to Gondorihah.

Tired of waiting, Abang Salamat and the *malin* left the treasury and went into the road to meet Nan Tungga, and soon Abang Salamat saw him in the distance with Dayang Daini. At the sight of Dayang Daini he was startled and shaken, and pointed them out to the *malin*, saying that Nan

Tungga had forgotten his promise and had plucked the flower of Bintawai. Gondorlah would curse Salamat and the *malin*, for he was the guardian of the oath and the *malin* had recorded it. Abang Salamat proposed that the *malin* should trick Nan Tungga into entering the treasure-house, while Dayang Daini stayed outside. Abang Salamat would then kill her. The *malin* agreed.

When Nan Tungga and Dayang Daini approached, Abang Salamat ran and knelt before Nan Tungga. He reported the killing of the guards and the plundering of the treasury, and invited Nan Tungga to go inside and look, in case any of the treasure was still hidden. Salamat winked at Dayang Daini, who stayed outside. As soon as Nan Tungga and the *malin* had entered the treasure-house, Abang Salamat, goaded by a devil, flew into a rage. Without a word, he drew his sword and cut off Dayang Daini's head. Immediately, he was filled with remorse and fear of Nan Tungga's anger. When Nan Tungga emerged from the treasure-house, Salamat ran up to him, took off his shirt, and asked Nan Tungga to behead him. He confessed that he had killed Dayang Daini, but had done so purposely, because Anggun Tungga had forgotten his vow to Gondorlah, of which he, Abang Salamat, was the keeper. He reminded Nan Tungga that he had sworn not to pick foreign flowers, and that if he broke his word Gondorlah would retire to the summit of Gunueng Lédang,⁴³ where a rock cave would be her *anjung* and ferns her mattress.

Anggun Nan Tungga asked Abang Salamat where he had sold his wits, that he asked to be beheaded! He would not reproach Salamat for killing Dayang Daini. When he persuaded her to come with him, he had only been pretending. He had wanted to test Salamat, to see if he still remembered to guard the oath. Salamat had guarded it well, they were of one mind, and Salamat must not be anxious. Then Nan Tungga told him to go and look for Kadirullah, who was herding swine, and inform him that his nephew Anggun Nan Tungga was waiting for him at the treasure-house.

Abang Salamat departed at once, sword in hand. He went down to the shore and searched for Kadirullah by a river. Then he caught sight of a man herding swine in a marshy place some distance off, and hurried towards him. Seeing Salamat approaching, Kadirullah feared that he was one of Tombi Bosa's guards, and that his last hour had come. Abang Salamat told him not to be anxious, and asked him to stop herding swine, throw down his sickle and come to the treasure-house, where his master was waiting.

Kadirullah was startled to see Salamat's blood-stained clothing, and asked who he was. Abang Salamat told him his name, that he came from Tiku Pariaman, and that his master was Anggun Nan Tungga, the son of Kadirullah's sister Conto Pomai. They had sought Kadirullah so long as they had the breath of a fish or the life of a dragon-fly, and would now take him home to Pariaman.

Kadirullah replied that he had no wish to return to Pariaman. He had drunk palm wine and eaten pork and Christian rice, his body was now half white, and he refused to be a Muslim any longer. When he heard this, Abang Salamat realised that "the crack would become a break", and the harm could not be put right. Provoked by a devil, he drew his sword and struck off Kadirullah's head. Salamat immediately felt regret, but decided to explain to Anggun Nan Tungga how Kadirullah had sided with the Dutch, and took Kadirullah's head with him. He ran back to the house of diamonds and knelt before Nan Tungga. Remorsefully he confessed to killing Kadirullah in a fit of anger, and asked to be beheaded in punishment. However, he explained, Kadirullah had sided with Tombi Bosa and spurned the men of Pariaman. Nan Tungga answered that he did not reproach Abang Salamat for Kadirullah's death. Anyone - even one's own father or mother - who took the side of foreigners and despised the people of Pariaman, deserved to die. Kadirullah's head could serve as a witness to people at home that they had found what they sought.

Anggun Nan Tungga then dispatched Salamat to Bintawai to beat the alarm drum and challenge the assembled people of Bintawai to battle, if they wished to avenge the death of Tombi Bosa. Abang Salamat went into Bintawai and found the drum hanging in a guard-hut, a relic of the days before Tombi Bosa's rule, when there had been *pangulu*. He struck it with three triple beats,⁴⁴ and all the people of Bintawai - men and women, young and old - came from upstream and downstream and assembled before Salamat. Their *pangulu* said that they were startled to see Salamat's clothes red with blood, and asked him who he was. He told them his name and that he came from Tiku Pariaman. Then he announced that Anggun Nan Tungga had killed Tombi Bosa, the 60 guards had also been slain, the treasure-house had been ransacked and the pig-sty destroyed. If the people of Bintawai wished to take revenge, let them go home and fetch their weapons, and then do battle.

The *pangulu* replied that they were overjoyed at Tombi Bosa's death, for under his rule ancestral customs had fallen into disuse, many wrongs had been unredressed and many disputes left unresolved. To repay the services of the men of

Tiku, they asked that Anggun Tungga should rule Bintawai in Tombi Bosa's place. Salamat said that it was difficult for him to reply. Nan Tungga was about to sail to Bandilo, to defeat the seven ships of Gajogun Lauk, who held his uncle Kojo Intan prisoner. After that they would call again at Bintawai, and the discussion could be concluded. The people of Bintawai shouted and clapped for joy and returned to their homes.

Abang Salamat hurried back to the treasure-house and recounted everything that had happened. Nan Tungga said that they must now set sail in search of Kojo Intan; so, with Salamat and the *malin* carrying the treasure, they returned to the cross-roads, where Panduko Rajo was lurking. Panduko Rajo emerged and was told that Tombi Bosa and Kadirullah had been killed. They walked on, went down to the shore, and rowed out to the ship with swift strokes.

When they came aboard, Nan Tungga's 300 followers were astonished to see their blood-stained clothing. The helmsman thumped his chest and shouted that they had been deceived. Nan Tungga had said he was going ashore to buy rice and betel, but it turned out that they had been fighting the enemy. The reason why the 300 had left Tiku and come to sea was in order to seek the lost, but as soon as a chance had come to blot out the disgrace, they had been tricked into staying in the ship. For what purpose had they been brought? They would merely use up the provisions. Let them be taken back to Tiku where they could work in their rice-fields.

Anggun Tungga replied that they had indeed gone ashore to get supplies, but once there had encountered the enemy and been compelled to fight. Panduko Rajo had been rescued and their shame had been wiped out. But the 300 should take heart; they would soon have what they asked. They were about to sail to Bandilo to rescue Kojo Intan, who was held captive by Gajogun Lauk, and there would be a big battle. This news pleased the 300. Then Nan Tungga ordered Abang Salamat to sail the ship eastwards to Bandilo. Salamat turned the helm and set the seven sails, the oars were plied, the mast-head nodded, and the ship sped through the waves and over the foam. But, by ill fortune, gales and whirlwinds came down and pushed the ship off course and into the middle of the ocean.

Nan Tungga was walking through the ship inspecting each compartment. Coming to the galley, he noticed that there was no firewood left. He summoned Abang Salamat and reproved him for neglecting his duties - it was

nearly mealtime and there was no firewood. Salamat asked Nan Tungga to forgive him, as he had been absorbed in rowing. He said he would anchor the ship, take the rowing-boat and go to look for wood. If he rowed to starboard, with luck he would reach land.

Having anchored the ship, Salamat took an axe and some rope, got into the boat and rowed to starboard. After rowing rapidly for some time, Salamat saw a headland. Confident of getting wood there, he rowed to shore and moored the boat, then took his axe and rope and climbed on to the headland. Looking about him he saw a forest near the shore and made towards it. When nearly there he found, near the shore, a dead and leafless tree. After walking round the tree three times he swung his axe against it. At the first blow, a dead branch fell into the sea. At the third blow, Abang Salamat faintly heard a voice calling from somewhere: "Do not fell the dead tree. I am covered by the waves and wrapped in the foam. If you pity me, do not fell the tree".

Abang Salamat was startled, and wondered if it was the voice of a jungle-spirit or sea-devil. He resumed chopping, and again the voice called on him to stop, saying that it was a forbidden tree. Dropping the axe, Abang Salamat hesitantly went in the direction of the voice. He asked who was calling - was it a sea-spirit? A man answered from the water's edge. He had weeds on his neck and forehead and moss on his chest. He said he was not a sea-devil but a human and a Muslim. Salamat asked him to prove it by reciting the confession of faith three times. This he did, and Abang Salamat was convinced. Salamat had pity on the man and said he would try to help him. Fetching his rope, he ran to the end of the headland, then threw the rope's end down to the man, telling him to grasp it firmly. The man did so, and Salamat slowly pulled him up out of the waves and on to the headland.

Gratefully the man offered to be Abang Salamat's servant. Salamat explained that, although he would willingly take the man with him, he himself served a master, who was aboard a ship. He would row the man out to the ship, and if permitted would take him aboard. If not, he would row him back to shore. They got into the boat and rowed to the ship. Abang Salamat climbed aboard, went to Anggun Tungga's cabin, and described to him how he had attempted to fell the tree, had rescued the man, and had brought him to the ship. Nan Tungga asked Salamat where he had sold his wits,

and said that he must have been misled by a sea-devil. Instead of fetching firewood, as commanded, he had brought a stranger to the ship. He was looking for trouble. Abang Salamat asked Nan Tungga not to be angry. He had brought the stranger back because he had noticed that his teeth were gold-plated like those of a nobleman of olden times. He reminded Nan Tungga that they had gone to sea to seek the lost, and here was one such. Anggun Nan Tungga assured Abang Salamat that he was not angry, but only trying to establish the truth. Then he ordered Salamat to bring the stranger aboard and give him rice and water. After that Nan Tungga would ask him where he came from.

Salamat hastened to bring the man aboard, and fetched rice and water for him. The stranger took two mouthfuls of rice and two of water and then fainted. Salamat ran and reported what had happened to Anggun Tungga, and asked what should be done. Nan Tungga said that the stranger was faint from lack of food. To restore him to consciousness, Salamat must fetch three mouthfuls of paradisaal water from the Prophet's jug, kept in a chest in Nan Tungga's cabin, and three *lidi gilo*.⁴⁵ He should sprinkle the water on the man and strike him with the *lidi*. Abang Salamat did as instructed, and on the third sprinkling the stranger was fully restored. Abang Salamat then invited him to come and talk with Anggun Nan Tungga, so that what was tangled could be unravelled.

When the three of them had sat down in Nan Tungga's cabin, Nan Tungga asked the stranger what had led to his suffering on the sea-shore. Had he been banished from his village for not paying a debt? The stranger replied that he had not been expelled from his village. He was one of three brothers who had gone to sea to trade in silks. They had set foot on a forbidden shore, that of Tombi Bosa, and had all been seized. He had been sent to Bandilo, where he had been Bindurai Sati's slave. One day Bindurai had sent him to sea in a boat to catch a huge fish with a golden fin, whose bones Bindurai wanted for the roof-rafters of his hall. After a month the fish had swallowed the hook. Afraid to break the rod or the line, he had let the fish drag his boat wherever it willed, until finally the boat sank. After that he had been carried about by the waves for months, and eventually cast up on the shore. Ferns had grown on his brow, reeds on his neck and moss on his chest. His home was in Tiku Pariaman, and his name was Kojo Intan. He offered to serve Nan Tungga wherever he might go.

Nan Tungga replied that, so far from being his servant, Kojo Intan was the man from whom he should seek guidance. Kojo Intan could not know it, but he too was from Tiku Pariaman, in fact he was the son of Kojo Intan's sister, Conto Pomai, and his name was Anggun Nan Tungga. At these words Kojo Intan embraced Nan Tungga and wept for gratitude that his own nephew had so unexpectedly sought the lost. When he left home, Conto Pomai had been a mere girl in plaits. Nan Tungga had not been born then, but now he was a man. Nan Tungga told Kojo Intan how resolutely he had searched for his uncles, while trying at the same time to fulfil Gondorah's requests. Kojo Intan asked who had informed Nan Tungga that his uncles were lost, and Tungga explained how his mother had kept the fact secret, but Nan Kodo Baha had told him publicly in order to humiliate him.

Now, said Anggun Nan Tungga, they would go and fight Bindurai Sati and sink the seven ships, at the same time acquiring one of the things requested by Gondorah - a little knife with a palm-blossom handle - because Bindurai's betrothed, Dayang Sudah, was said to own such a knife. While Panduko Rajo and Kojo Intan discussed the hardships they had experienced, Nan Tungga, Abang Salamat and the *malin* conferred about the forthcoming attack on Bindurai Sati. When they were agreed, Nan Tungga ordered Salamat to make ready the three ancestral guns: the oldest, Si Sanieng Gégo,⁴⁶ the second, Lélo Munjonun,⁴⁷ and the youngest, Si Sapu Rantau.⁴⁸ Now they would go and do battle.

DEFEATING THE SEVEN SHIPS

At Anggun Tungga's request, the *malin* consulted the *galah salapan*⁴⁹ and the *kutiko limo*⁵⁰ and divined that they should sail at night and arrive off Bandilo before dawn, when they should fire the three guns to announce their presence. On Nan Tungga's orders, Abang Salamat unfurled the seven sails and cast the sounding-lead, the oars were plied and the ship shot across the ocean. At midnight, when they were not far from the seven ships, Abang Salamat cast anchor and asked Nan Tungga for further orders. Nan Tungga ordered him to fire the three guns at the seven ships. So Salamat went to the *pangipak*, loaded the guns with Dutch gunpowder and cast shot, lit the slow-matches and called to Nan Tungga to fire them. But Nan Tungga told Salamat to aim and fire, while he and the *malin* applied their spiritual powers. Salamat took Sanieng Gégo, performed some *silék* steps,

and when both mind and eye were aiming straight, he pulled the trigger.⁵¹ There were three detonations and four echoes, and the smoke formed a dense cloud. Bandilo was shaken, and the Dutchmen in the seven ships were thrown into confusion. The seven ships then fired back with Japanese cannon seven cubits long. Small guns crackled and large ones thundered.

Abang Salamat fired the second gun, Lélo Munjonun, and sank one of the Dutch ships, then he fired Sapu Rantau and two more Dutch craft sank. Sanieng Gého was discharged again with a great reverberation and now all the Dutch fleet had gone down, except one ship, Si Énsuk,⁵² in which were many of Gondorih's requests. When Salamat brought the ship alongside, Si Énsuk's crew seized her with a grappling-iron. Salamat shouted to Nan Tungga that the ship was being pulled over and would sink. Nan Tungga ordered him and the *malin* to walk along the grappling-iron into the enemy vessel. They did so and proceeded to cut down the Dutchmen like ferns or sugar-cane. They were like a gale among leaves or lightning among clouds. They swam in blood and walked upon corpses. The only survivors were the 14 yellow men and 16 black men whom Gondorih had requested for servants.

Nan Tungga now crossed into Si Énsuk and threatened the yellow and black men with death unless they summoned Bindurai Sati. Followed by Anggun Tungga, Abang Salamat and the *malin*, the white⁵³ men and the black men went ashore and made for Bindurai Sati's palace in Bandilo. From the courtyard the black men called to Bindurai that all the ships except Si Énsuk had been sunk and that Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince of Pariaman, had come. Realising that a fight was in the offing, Bindurai descended from the upper chamber, stamping and thumping his chest. He was moved to pity by the sight of Nan Tungga's good looks, but Nan Tungga announced that he had come to seek revenge on Bindurai for his treatment of Kojo Intan, and would, as the saying went, warm himself while the rice cooked, by practising his *silék* steps at the same time. Bindurai Sati warned him that he would win easily, and told him to go home rather than bring grief to his betrothed. Nan Tungga asked what wrong Kojo Intan had done, and offered to pay for it, but Bindurai Sati only threatened to imprison him, whereupon Nan Tungga accused him of talking like a child and failing to answer his questions.

They began to fight, while the *malin* meditated. Bindurai Sati seized Anggun Tungga and gripped him so that he could not escape. He told Tungga to yield up his soul, for his end was nigh. But even as he spoke, Abang

Salamat, seeing the *malin* concentrating, took a chisel, leapt on to Bindurai's shoulder and drove the chisel into the top of Bindurai's head. At one blow of the chisel blood spurted over Nan Tungga and Bindurai was dead.

Reminding Abang Salamat and the *malin* that Dayang Sudah had a little knife with a palm-blossom handle, Anggun Tungga went upstairs to the upper chamber and told Dayang Sudah that Bindurai Sati was dead. When she came down and saw Bindurai's corpse, she wept. Comforting her, and hinting that he might take Bindurai Sati's place, Nan Tungga asked Dayang Sudah to let him have the knife. She gave it to him, and as they were talking Nan Tungga winked at Abang Salamat, as a sign that he should take Dayang Sudah aboard. Salamat, however, mistook it for a signal that he should kill her, and at once, prompted by a devil, he cut off Dayang Sudah's head with his sword.

Dayang Sudah and Bindurai Sati were dead, Nan Tungga had the knife with the palm-flower handle, and the battle of Bandilo was over.

TAKING INTAN KORONG HOME

When they had returned to the ship, Abang Salamat spread the sails, the oars were plied, and the ship sped over the ocean.

One day Nan Tungga sat pensively in his cabin. He wished to repay Intan Korong for her help by taking her back to her home. He summoned Abang Salamat and told him that all Gondorinah's requests had been fulfilled except one, a talking parrot, and that they must also find his other two uncles, Maudun and Monggueng Kayo.⁵⁴ None of their success so far - rescuing Panduko Rajo and defeating Bindurai Sati - could have been achieved without the help of Intan Korong, and Nan Tungga wished to repay her by restoring her to her home in Pasisie. He told Abang Salamat to fetch her.

Salamat went to Intan Korong's cabin and found her asleep. He called to her to wake, but she slumbered all the more soundly. After further vain appeals in *pantun*, Salamat angrily reminded her that she had promised Nan Tungga to be vigilant and not sleep. If she persisted, he would take her back to Tiku. Intan immediately woke up and asked why Salamat had unexpectedly roused her at midday - was there work for her to do, or a burden for her to carry? Abang Salamat said that it pained him

to hear her speak of carrying burdens. He had woken her because Nan Tungga wished to speak to her in his cabin. Intan Korong was surprised and asked if Nan Tungga was ill; if so, she would prepare medicine. No, replied Salamat, but Nan Tungga was pensive and brooding and wished to solace his cares by conversing with her. When Intan had changed out of her everyday clothing, they went to Nan Tungga's cabin. Anggun Nan Tungga explained that because of the trouble and fighting ever since the ship left Tiku, this was his first chance to talk to her, and he asked her how she had fallen into the hands of Nan Kodo Baha and endured so much at sea.

Intan replied that she had lived in Pasisie. Her mother was Andun Sari Mulie, her father Sutan Di Mutoie, and her mother's brother Marajo Bosa, a prince in Pasisie. One day when Intan was a girl of seven in plaits, always running in and out of the house, her mother had been weaving by the rice-barn⁵⁵ in the courtyard. Intan had been chasing about the yard rolling limes, and unluckily a lime had bounced under the rice-barn. Intan had raced after it, slipped and fallen against the loom, snapping the thread and tangling the silk. Angrily her mother had picked up a spool and hit Intan on the crown of the head, making it bleed. Intan had wept and called for her father, who had carried her to the bathing-place, washed away the blood and given her some silk to play with. Afraid to go back to her mother, Intan had stayed on at the bathing-place alone, playing at hanging lengths of silk out to dry. Just then a ship had anchored off the coast, and its captain had rowed ashore. He was Nan Kodo Mudo, a trader in silk and velvet. He had chatted with Intan and offered a high price for her silk. She had accepted and gone back to the ship with him for the money. Before she realised it, the ship had sailed away. After some years with Nan Kodo Mudo she had been transferred to Nan Kodo Bondin in payment of a debt, and then had passed into the hands of Nan Kodo Baha. After many unhappy years, she had been lucky enough to be won by Anggun Nan Tungga. She had been happy on his ship, and would live and die with him if she could have her way.

When Nan Tungga continued to brood silently, Intan asked if she had offended him. He explained that he was thinking of how her mother must have mourned ever since she disappeared, and said that he wished to take her home. Intan Korong immediately wept, and asked Nan Tungga to take her back with him to Tiku. She would rather be Gondorah's maid, minding the

ducks and sweeping the yard, than go home to Pasisie. Nan Tungga said that two uncles still remained to be found. Rather than endure such a long voyage, it would be better for Intan to be taken home. How happy her mother would be! Intan replied that he had taught her to love him; why then was he abandoning her? She would rather jump overboard than be taken home.

Nan Tungga asked why she was unwilling to return. If there were any unsettled debts or uncompensated wrongs, he would pay. Intan answered that there were no such debts to pay. Once her parents had been rich, a source of help and supplies for merchants at sea. But since her disappearance, her mother had become destitute: her clothes were patched, she reaped *salibu*⁵⁶ and winnowed the husks from the rice-mortar in search of a handful of broken rice-grains. The family house was dilapidated and the seven rice-barns had collapsed. Her uncle Marajo Bosa, once a leading aristocrat, had been made a slave. It would break her heart to go home and see such desolation.

Nan Tungga asked who had told her that her mother was so poor. She replied that she had learnt it from Nan Kodo Baha, who often sailed to Pasisie. Nan Tungga told her not to believe Nan Kodo Baha, who was a typical man of Agam - a treacherous cheat. He assured her that if her house was in disrepair it would be restored to its former state, any pawned property would be redeemed, and any tangled affairs would be put straight. Intan Korong still wept at being rejected by Nan Tungga, and said she wished to live and die with him. Rather than be taken home, she would prefer Nan Tungga to kill her, and she took off her jacket for him to behead her.

Seeing how unwilling Intan Korong was to go home, Anggun Nan Tungga sought a way to deceive her with sweet words. He urged her not to be hasty. He had only been trying to fathom her real thoughts. Her refusal to return to Pasisie was unexpected luck - he had hoped for a shoot and got a salad. She was in every way the equal of Gondorihah, but unfortunately the people of Tiku had barred the way to love. He had taken her to sea in the hope of fulfilling his wish, and he was delighted that she refused to go home to Pasisie. However, he must ask her one thing: in which direction was Pasisie, and what landmark showed its position?

Intan told Nan Tungga that she saw through his ruse - he was trying

to deceive her with fine words and take her home after all. But Anggun Tungga explained that he had asked about the landmark because, when Abang Salamat saw a promontory, he usually sailed towards it; but once Nan Tungga knew the landmark at Pasisie, he could order Salamat to steer clear of it if he saw it. Intan Korong believed him. She told him that Pasisie was in the direction of the flowering sun, but she could not remember how far away. What marked it out was a group of three headlands. On the middle one - that of Pasisie - there grew a *kubang* tree.⁵⁷ Anggun Nan Tungga told Intan Korong that she could return to her cabin and sleep peacefully, for the ship would now sail in search of the two uncles, Patieh Maudun and Monggueng Kayo. Intan went to her cabin and slept, but her heart was uneasy.

Nan Tungga now ordered Abang Salamat to climb the mast and observe, by means of the book of divination and the telescope, how far away Pasisie was. When they reached Pasisie, he and Abang Salamat would go ashore by boat and tell the village elders that Intan Korong was aboard their ship. Abang Salamat hurriedly climbed up the mast to the cross-tree, where he rested, smoked a cigarette and chewed betel. Carried away by the fragrance of the cigarette, Salamat drifted into a melancholy reverie and began to sing mournfully. So beautiful was the sound - like a distant gong or the piping of the demigods - that rivers stopped flowing and birds on the wing suddenly alighted. When Nan Tungga heard the sound he shouted at Abang Salamat that he was being foolish and neglecting his duties. Abang Salamat admitted his foolishness, explained that he had been unsure how to look, and asked Anggun Tungga to enumerate the methods of observation. Nan Tungga said that there were 44 methods, of which four were essential: looking far, looking near, looking with the outward eye, and looking with the inner eye of divine knowledge.

Abang Salamat resumed his observation, using the telescope and the book of divination. Looking at the sky he saw the cords of the moon, the pillar of the sun, and the mosque of Tuanku Soru Alam. Looking down his gaze penetrated the seven layers of the world, down to the underlying rock. When he looked out to sea, the ocean was like a glassy floor, islands looked like chess-men, and boats like ducks swimming. Abang Salamat made his fourth observation in the direction of the flowering sun, in order to see Pasisie. However, he could not discern it with either the compass or the book of divination, and the view through the telescope became obscure. Salamat repeated his calculation with the *kutiko limo* and tried again to

look through the telescope, but the view was even more indistinct.

Abang Salamat came down, told Nan Tungga what had happened, and asked what should be done. Nan Tungga advised him to consult the *malin* because of his skill in magical matters. Salamat went to the *malin* and told him about Nan Tungga's wish to repay Intan Korong, and about the plan to take her home in spite of her unwillingness. He described how the instruments had failed when he tried to observe Pasisie, and asked the *malin* why. The *malin* used the *galah salapan* and *kutiko limo* to divine the reasons. He explained to Salamat that, since Intan Korong's departure, the coast at Pasisie had become the haunt of sea-ghosts and indiscernible by telescope or *kutiko limo*. This was because Intan was of noble descent and the grandchild of celestial spirits. The *malin* advised that Nan Tungga should beguile Intan Korong into agreeing to return to Pasisie. She should then be asked to pray, so that the sea-spirits departed. Salamat asked the *malin* how far it was to Pasisie, and received the answer: three days sailing.

Abang Salamat hurried back and repeated to Nan Tungga the information and advice he had obtained from the *malin*. Nan Tungga ordered Salamat to bring Intan Korong to him again, so that he could persuade her. Salamat went and told Intan Korong that Nan Tungga wanted to see her again, and hinted, when Intan seemed apprehensive, that Nan Tungga intended to marry her. The three of them sat down to talk in Anggun Nan Tungga's cabin.

Nan Tungga told Intan that she ought to return to Pasisie out of pity for her parents, who had been mourning her absence and searching for her. If the house was in disrepair he would restore it, and any pledged property would be redeemed. Intan begged him not to take her back. What distressed her was her mother's extreme poverty - wearing patched clothes and winnowing the husks for a handful of broken rice-grains, the ruined state of the house and rice-barns, and her uncle's descent into slavery. Nan Tungga repeated that if the house was dilapidated it would be rebuilt. His desire was to assemble the people of Pasisie, so that they could see him and Intan fulfil their wish. A tournament would be held, to which the distant would be invited by letter, and those nearby with a betel-bowl. However, if Intan refused to return to Pasisie, they would simply go on enduring the tribulations of the voyage. Deceived by Nan Tungga's words, Intan Korong agreed to return to Pasisie, provided that he kept his promise. Nan Tungga assured Intan that she could trust him, and then

commanded Abang Salamat to sail the ship swiftly to Pasisie.

Salamat unfurled the sails, the oars were plied, the mast-head nodded, and the ship skimmed over the foam in the direction of the flowering sun. After the ship had sailed for three days, anchoring every night, Nan Tungga came to Abang Salamat in the *pangipak* and told him that when he saw the *kubang* tree which marked Pasisie, he was to cast anchor a little way from the land. Nan Tungga would then go ashore with Intan by boat. Later the same day Salamat saw the landmark, cast anchor not far from the coast, and reported to Nan Tungga, who ordered him to guard the ship while he and Intan went ashore. Then Anggun Tungga went and asked Intan to accompany him ashore in the boat. She agreed to, provided he kept his word, and said she would first change out of her old clothes.

Intan fetched her best clothes and her ornaments, then undid her hair, oiled it and combed it. Asking Nan Tungga to choose which of three hair-styles was best for her home-coming, she arranged her hair in three coils and fixed it in place with a pin. Anggun Nan Tungga praised her coiffure in a series of *pantun*. Then Intan took off her every-day clothes and donned clothing appropriate for her home-coming. The jacket was of delicately-patterned cloth woven by *jin*, which aroused restless longing in the beholder, and the skirt was decorated with gold thread. When she had changed her rings and other jewellery, Intan was as beautiful as the full moon or a bud about to blossom.

At Nan Tungga's command, Abang Salamat summoned the 300 followers, so that Intan could bid them farewell. She asked their leave to depart and they all wept as if bereaved. Salamat lowered the boat, and Nan Tungga told him and the 300 to wait in the ship while he took Intan Korong to Pasisie. Then he got into the boat with Intan and rowed towards the shore, while Intan, Salamat and the 300 all wept.

Three princesses, who were washing silk on a promontory to the right of Pasisie, watched Nan Tungga and Intan Korong. Nan Tungga rowed to the promontory and moored the boat, then he went with Intan Korong and asked the princesses what their names were. They replied that they were Bungo Pandan, Bungo Kapéh and Nan Bonsu, and asked Nan Tungga why he and Intan had come. Nan Tungga said that their ship was short of supplies, and asked where they could buy rice and betel. Bungo Pandan answered that merchant ships always used to come to Pasisie for fresh supplies, because of Andun

Sari Mulie, who had been famous for her wealth. But now Mother Andun was destitute, because long ago her daughter Intan Korong had disappeared from the bathing-place, and Andun Sari Mulie had pawned and sold much property in vain efforts to trace her child. Now her clothing was patched, she reaped *salibu* and winnowed husks to get a handful of broken rice-grains. Her daughter, Bungo Pandan added, had looked very like this princess here.

At this, Intan Korong's courage failed. She pleaded with Nan Tungga to row back to the ship, and not to seek provisions in Pasisie. Nan Tungga took leave of the princesses, saying that they would return to their ship, and rowed away with Intan Korong. Intan wept and reminded Nan Tungga of what the princesses had just said about her mother. She would rather be taken back to Tiku to be Gondorah's servant. But Anggun Nan Tungga told her to trust him: he would replace whatever was lost. Then he asked Intan to pray, so that the sea-spirits would depart from the shore. She did as he asked, and the spirits returned to their place of origin. As their boat approached the shore, the princesses, who were watching them, remarked to one another: "Perhaps the owner of the bathing-place has returned."

Nan Tungga and Intan Korong landed near her former bathing-place, and Intan wept to see that it was now covered in grass and undergrowth. Anggun Tungga concentrated his mind and prayed to his *guru* on earth, Malin Badoyan, and his *guru* in heaven, Tuanku Soru Alam, that they would send the seven winds to cleanse Intan's bathing place. His prayer was heard, and the winds descended, bellowing and whinnying, from the sky and tore up the grasses and undergrowth. Now the bathing-place was clean, and the pure water and the three ivory water-conduits were visible.

Seeing the pure water, Anggun Nan Tungga wanted to bathe in it. He changed into his bathing-clothes and plunged in. He swam to and fro, splashing with his feet and performing various strokes, and the carp dived this way and that, mistaking his beauty-spots⁵⁸ for drifting flowers. Refreshed, Nan Tungga went and told Intan Korong that her bathing-place was clean again, and suggested that she should bathe too. She did so, swimming with many varied strokes and remembering how she used to bathe there. After that, the two of them walked along the road, once well-kept but now overgrown, which led to Intan's house.

After a while Intan stopped and sorrowfully pointed to her house, which was in a decrepit state, and to the seven rice-barns, which had collapsed. Telling her to take courage, Nan Tungga said that if her mother was at home, he would talk to her while Intan listened. Meanwhile inside the house, the poverty-stricken Andun Sari Mulie sat thinking sadly of her missing child. From the courtyard Anggun Tungga called out asking if the owner of the house was at home. At his second call, Mother Andun heard him and replied, inviting them to come up, but to tread carefully because the steps were rotten. Intan and Nan Tungga mounted the decaying steps and entered the house. When Andun Sari Mulie's eyes met Intan's, Mother Andun's heart was troubled. Warning Intan and Nan Tungga to walk slowly lest the floor should give way, she spread out her only mat, made of *pua* leaves,⁵⁹ for them to sit on.

When they had rested, Andun Sari Mulie asked Nan Tungga where he was from and why they had come. He told her that they were from beyond the great ocean. They had come because their ship was short of supplies and they had heard that it was possible to buy rice from her. He said that he was Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince of Tikur Pariaman. Mother Andun answered that formerly she had been a source of supplies and help for merchant ships, but that now, as he could see, she had fallen on hard times, and she enquired who this beautiful princess was. Anggun Tungga said that he could not reveal the princess's name until he had questioned Mother Andun thoroughly, lest he should make a mistake. He asked her why she had become so poor. She told him that long ago her only child, a girl named Intan Korong, had disappeared from the bathing place. Since then she had impoverished herself, selling and pawning land and goods, in vain attempts to find Intan Korong, whose loss she still lamented day and night.

Andun Sari Mulie again asked Nan Tungga for the princess's name, for she felt that her grief was about to be solaced. He warned her not to jump to the wrong conclusions, since many pieces of cloth had the same pattern. Perhaps it was just a coincidence, but the princess's name, like her daughter's, was Intan Korong. Mother Andun wept and said that Intan looked just like her missing daughter. Nan Tungga then asked Mother Andun - since Intan Korong resembled her lost child in name and appearance - if her daughter had any distinguishing marks. She replied that her daughter had a mark on the crown of her head, where she had hit

her with a bobbin. Anggun Tungga gave Andun Sari Mulie permission to look on Intan Korong's head for evidence that she was her lost child. Intan got up slowly and Mother Andun led her to the window, where she parted Intan's hair and saw the scar. Andun Sari Mulie at once embraced Intan Korong, weeping loudly. Hearing the noise the people of Pasisie came from all sides to Mother Andun's house, where they gathered whispering and peering.

When Intan Korong's maternal uncle, Marajo Bosa, heard that she had been brought home by a handsome prince from Tiku, he hastened to the house and greeted Nan Tungga. He told Intan how the household had grown poor by selling lands and property, but said he would not dwell on the past, for now she had been brought home by this handsome prince. Marajo Bosa asked Nan Tungga how he could repay him, and enquired what his name was and where he came from. Anggun Tungga told him, and Marajo Bosa asked how he had come to be in charge of Intan Korong. Nan Tungga explained that he had won her from Nan Koda Baha at a tournament in Sunue Kurai Taji. He had taken her back to Tiku, and then they had sailed the seas for three months. Marajo Bosa said how fortunate it was that Nan Tungga had rescued Intan.

Marajo Bosa then ordered a huge feast to be held. The drum in the council-hall was beaten, and all the people of Pasisie, young and old, came flocking from upstream and downstream to the council-hall. When the village officers told them that Intan Korong had been brought home by Anggun Nan Tungga, they rushed noisily to the house to see Intan Korong. They formed a huge crowd, rubbing shoulders and treading on each other's toes. For several days and nights they celebrated Intan's return to the sound of gongs, *calémpong*, *robab* and *kucapi*.

After about a week Nan Tungga told Marajo Bosa that he wished to replace and repair whatever was missing or rotten in Intan's house and compound. He would not return to Tiku until it was fully restored. He asked leave to go back to the ship and fetch 20 craftsmen to do the work. Hinting that Nan Tungga must not break his promise,⁶⁰ Marajo Bosa agreed, but would not let him go alone, and asked the village elders and officers to accompany Nan Tungga to the shore. Nan Tungga said that, rather than go with him to the shore, it would be better to prepare a ceremonial reception for the 20 craftsmen. Persuaded by his

winning words, the village notables took a golden betel-bowl and prepared betel and cigarettes to welcome the craftsmen.

Anggun Nan Tungga walked to the shore and rowed quickly out to the ship. There he told Abang Salamat that he had promised to return to Pasisie with the 20 craftsmen. However, if he did so trouble was likely to result, for they were still searching for the 120 things requested by Gondorihah. Therefore they would trick the people of Pasisie and sail away. Nan Tungga reminded Salamat that 119 of Gondorihah's desires had now been obtained and were aboard the ship. Only one remained to be found: a parrot, no ordinary parrot, but one which could talk and divine with the *kutiko limo*. He ordered Abang Salamat to spread the sails and get the ship under way. Salamat obeyed, the wind filled the sails, the oars were plied, the mast-head nodded, and the ship gathered speed, plunging through the waves. Pasisie was left behind, Intan Korong and the people of Pasisie had been deceived, and now Anggun Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat would seek the parrot, while at the same time looking for the uncles Patieh Maudun and Katimongguengan.

TO TANAU

They sailed for the rest of the day, anchored for the night, and sailed again the next morning. When they came to a group of islands in the middle of the ocean, Anggun Nan Tungga ordered Abang Salamat to anchor the ship. Then, at Nan Tungga's command, Abang Salamat took the telescope, compass and books of divination and climbed the mast in order to discover what islands these were. He looked in four directions: at the sky, at the earth, towards the sea, and finally towards the flowering sun. There he saw seven islands, including three which appeared the size of a quail's cage, circular and steep-sided. Salamat could see a road, a bathing-place, a council-hall and a mosque,⁶¹ and the settlement seemed long-established, because the coconut and areca palms were old. Uncertain what this place was, Salamat went and told Anggun Tungga what he had seen. Nan Tungga said that he did not know the place either, having been at sea no longer than Salamat, and told Salamat to ask the 14 black men and 16 yellow men whom they had captured at Bandilo, since they were experienced mariners.

When he described what he had seen the black men told Abang Salamat

that the island on one side was Sitombue Bondue Ruhun,⁶² on the other side was Tanau Sori, and the island in the middle was Tanau. Abang Salamat asked who ruled and untangled disputes in Tanau. The black men replied that there were 44 princes, but that if the best were winnowed out there were two, one in Tanau and the other in Ruhun. The prince of Tanau was Patieh Maudun. He was expert in reciting the Koran, lived in a mosque and had 1,200 pupils. His assistant was Malin Mudo. The ruler of Sitombue Bondue Ruhun, Katimongguengan, was Patieh Maudun's brother, and both of them came from Tiku Pariaman. Ever since Patieh Maudun had come to Tanau the crops had flourished and the inhabitants had been devout, and he was a fount of advice. Monggueng Kayo, the ruler of Ruhun, was a far-seeing mirror and a compass to his people. He ruled according to custom, straightening the tangled and making clear the muddy.

As soon as he heard the names of Maudun and Katimongguengan, Salamat was silent and pensive, and the black men asked if they had offended him. Salamat replied that Maudun and Katimongguengan were the uncles of Nan Tungga in quest of whom they had left Tiku and sailed far over the seas. Now at last they had been found, and could be taken home to Tiku Pariaman. The black men answered that it would be difficult to take the uncles back to Tiku, for Maudun had settled in Tanau and even had a child there, a daughter named Santan Batapih,⁶³ and Katimongguengan had also settled and had a daughter, whose name was Dandomi Sutan. Both daughters' *bako*⁶⁴ came from Tiku. Santan and Dandomi were of equal worth, each was the flower of the *anjung* and the ornament of the family house. Neither was engaged, and both were dreamed about by the young men. Dandomi Sutan was superior to Santan Batapih in only one respect: she had a pet parrot which could talk.

Abang Salamat reported to Anggun Nan Tungga that the islands were Tanau and Ruhun and that they were ruled by his uncles Patieh Maudun and Katimongguengan, but that it would be difficult to take them back to Pariaman because each had married and each had a daughter to whom Nan Tungga was *bako*, namely Santan Batapih and Dandomi Sutan. Nan Tungga reminded Abang Salamat that it was in order to seek his uncles that they had left Tiku amid lamentation and sailed the wide ocean. Now that the uncles had been found he was determined to seek them out. He ordered Salamat to set sail for Tanau. There they would test his

uncle by firing the ancestral guns.

They sailed the rest of the day and half the next night, anchoring at midnight off Tanau and Ruhun in a stretch of sea called Liueng Bonda Cino. Salamat woke Nan Tungga, who rose unsteadily and asked if an enemy had attacked. On being told that they had reached Tanau, he ordered Abang Salamat to grind the gunpowder, load the guns with small shot and fire them, so that Tanau and Ruhun would shake and Maudun be woken up. Abang Salamat primed the guns in order of seniority, lit the slow-matches and asked Nan Tungga to fire. Nan Tungga told Salamat to fire, and gave him instructions. First he was to discharge Sanieng Gégo towards Nan Gondorlah's house in Tiku Pariaman, and along with the sound of the gun Nan Tungga would send a message to her. Then Lélo Munjonun was to be fired towards the house of Intan Korong in Pasisie, and Nan Tungga would transmit a greeting to her. Finally Salamat was to fire Sapu Rantau at the spire of Maudun's mosque in Tanau, so that Maudun should wake up and long for his home, for the guns were his own.

Taking Sanieng Gégo, Salamat performed *silék* steps, aimed and fired. There were four echoes and an enormous cloud of smoke. Nan Tungga prayed and sent a message to Gondorlah, asking her to be patient, and saying that he had sailed far and suffered much in order to fulfil her requests. All had been obtained except the parrot, and as soon as he had this he would return to Tiku. The gun's roar carried the message to Tiku, where thunder woke Gondorlah at midnight. Her *anjueng* shook and she felt faint. She remembered her love for Nan Tungga and their vow, that if he did not return in seven months, their wish would not be realised. Gondorlah sat up all night full of anxiety.

Now Salamat aimed at Pasisie with his inward eye and fired Lélo Munjonun. Nan Tungga sent Intan Korong a message, that although they had not fulfilled their intention, he had not forgotten her help. Since she had left, the ship had been driven mad by sea-devils and lost its bearings. A peal of thunder at midnight made Intan's *anjueng* tremble, and she woke up and thought on her unhappy fate, saying to herself in *pantun*: "It's difficult to have a distant friend: it's useless to love too much one who has gone away." Sorrowfully she longed for Nan Tungga.

Finally Salamat took up Sapu Rantau and aimed carefully at Maudun's mosque. When inner and outer vision were fixed on the spire, he pulled the trigger. Tanau and Ruhun quaked and the news spread in all directions, even to Pahang and Patani, Ambon and Malacca. Salamat looked with the telescope and *galah salapan* and observed that the shot had snapped the spire. Anggun Tungga was pleased to hear this, and said he hoped Patieh Maudun would long for the people of Tiku when he heard the sound of his own guns. Nan Tungga then instructed Abang Salamat that, if Maudun came to the ship the next morning, Salamat should receive him and converse pleasantly with him; however, he should not reveal that they were from Pariaman. This was so that Maudun should be the one to disclose the truth about himself, and so that they should be sure that they were rescuing the drowning. If, however, Maudun became angry, Salamat was to admit the truth.

That night in Patieh Maudun's mosque all the 1,200 pupils slept silently. But Patieh Maudun woke with a start when he heard the sound of three guns. He lit a lamp and, feeling profoundly uneasy, sought an interpretation and a hidden meaning. After consulting a book of divination, he realized that it was none other than the sound of his own three guns, which he had left behind in Tiku. Maudun wondered if relatives of his from Tiku had come to Tanau, and thought sadly of his sister Conto Pomai. Filled with longing for Tiku, he wept like one bereaved. To console himself, he took pen and ink and tried to write, copying out the *fatihah*, but because his thoughts strayed back to Tiku, he spilt the ink and dropped the pen and paper.

The cock crew, the magpie-robin twittered and the light of day blossomed in the east: it was time for the dawn prayer. The drums stuttered in Tanau and Ruhun, and Maudun's pupils thronged to the bathing-place. Only Maudun forgot about prayer, as he sat thinking sadly of his home. When the pupils had returned to the mosque, the call to prayer was given, and then Malin Mudo uttered the *kamat*⁶⁵ and waited for Maudun to lead the prayers. But Maudun did not appear, and as time was passing the pupils prayed by themselves. Then came the time to read the Koran, but with no one to correct their reading, the pupils sat silent and worried. At the *imam's*⁶⁶ suggestion, Malin Mudo went to discover if Maudun was ill. Finding Maudun weeping in his room, Malin Mudo enquired deferentially what the matter was, and why he had

so unexpectedly failed to lead the morning prayers.

Maudun said that he had not intended to miss morning prayers. The reason for his tears was that he had been woken the previous night by the sound of his three guns, which he had secretly buried in a swamp before leaving Tiku. He wondered if his relatives had come from Tiku. To set his mind at rest he would go down to the shore, and if there was a ship at anchor he would row out to it and enquire about the guns. Perhaps they had been pawned by the people of Tiku; if so, he would redeem them. Hearing this, Malin Mudo wept. When Maudun asked why, he said that he was anxious lest Maudun should abandon the mosque and return to Tiku Pariaman, leaving him with his studies uncompleted and without Maudun to depend on. Patieh Maudun assured Malin Mudo that he would not go back to Tiku, because Santan Batapih was not yet engaged and still had no one but himself to support her. He then directed that all his pupils should leave the mosque and accompany him to the shore. It might be that his heart's desire had been fulfilled, and Santan Batapih's *bako* had come from Tiku Pariaman.

Maudun put on his hajji's turban and his long gown and set off for the shore, accompanied by all his pupils and Malin Mudo. Stopping at a fork in the road, Maudun looked out to sea and saw a vessel which appeared to him to be the ship of a prince. He told Malin Mudo that his relations must have come from Tiku, and instructed him to go to Santan Batapih's house and ask her to prepare food and await a visitor from Tiku. Malin Mudo ran to Santan Batapih's house and told her that a ship had arrived from Tiku with relations of her father on board, and that Maudun was going out to the ship to invite them back to her house for refreshment. Santan Batapih and the maids began to boil rice and make curry. Malin Mudo ran back to Maudun and they all went in procession to the promontory, clapping loudly. Maudun told his pupils to wait while he rowed to the ship, and ordered Malin Mudo to prepare the boat. Then Maudun got in and, with rapid strokes of the oars, rowed over the foam to the ship.

Tying up the boat, Maudun climbed aboard and met Abang Salamat. After greeting Salamat and commenting on his youthful appearance, Maudun asked him his name, and Salamat told him. Then Maudun asked where his home was and where the ship had come from. Remembering Nan Tungga's instructions, Abang Salamat replied untruthfully that he came from

Payo Kumbueh in Limo Pulueh. Patieh Maudun told Salamat that he was being untruthful, for the blue banner⁶⁷ and other marks of a ship from Limo Pulueh were not to be seen on this ship. Moreover, a ship from Payo Kumbueh would have few *dubalang* and many *pangulu* aboard,⁶⁸ and the people of Limo Pulueh were eloquent, courteous and good-humoured.

Salamat replied that he had not been lying, but forgetful and confused, and said that he came from Agam. Maudun again said that Salamat was lying, for the marks of a ship from Agam were a red flag, many *dubalang* and few *pangulu*. The people of Agam were keen traders, happy to travel far from home for the sake of doing business.⁶⁹ These signs were absent from Abang Salamat's ship. Salamat answered that he had been confused by a sea-devil and had made a mistake. In fact he came from Tanah Data. At this Maudun accused Salamat of lying yet a third time. He said that the marks of a Tanah Data ship included a yellow flag, and he named various dignitaries of Tanah Data.⁷⁰ Did not Salamat know that he was Patieh Maudun, ruler of Tanau? He threatened that, unless Salamat spoke the truth, he would be forbidden to anchor in Tanau waters.

At these angry words, Abang Salamat admitted that the ship had come from Tiku Pariaman. Saying that he was not really angry, only trying to discover the truth, Maudun asked who was the captain and unravelled what was tangled on board the ship. Salamat replied that there was no captain, and that all on board were equal. Maudun answered that those who sailed without a captain, or walked without one who knew the way, were bound to go astray and were asking for trouble. Evidently the people of Tiku had introduced strange new customs since he left. Abang Salamat then admitted that there was a captain, namely Anggun Nan Tungga, the son of Maudun's sister Conto Pomai.

Patieh Maudun was deeply moved, and said he had not expected that his own nephew would come and seek the lost. He asked Salamat to call Anggun Tungga. Salamat said that it was difficult, because Nan Tungga was asleep, and if woken would menace him with a sword, but Maudun replied that Nan Tungga would not be angry if he was told that Maudun had come. Salamat hurried to Nan Tungga's cabin and reported that Maudun had come, as expected, and was waiting in the *pangipak*. Nan Tungga changed into a silk jacket, Achinese trousers and other garments which had belonged to Maudun, and went to meet him.

Maudun embraced him tearfully and expressed his joy that Anggun Nan Tungga, whose mother had been a girl in plaits when Maudun left home, should have come in search of him. Nan Tungga told him that they had sailed for five months, and gone as far as Ambon and Malacca. They had been resolved to rescue him, even from hell-fire. If they failed, disgrace would await them in Pariaman, but now they had rescued the drowning and would take him home. Maudun praised Nan Tungga for upholding tradition by coming to seek him. He said that he had lived in Tanau for 40 years now, and had a daughter, Santan Batapih, to whom Nan Tungga was *bako*. He invited Nan Tungga to come and take refreshment at Santan's house. Maudun's sincerity would thus be proved and his sorrow be comforted.

Anggun Nan Tungga said that, even if Maudun had not come to the ship, he would have come ashore. Unfortunately, when he left Tiku he and his betrothed, Nan Gondorih had made a vow of love, which the *malin* had written down and which Abang Salamat safeguarded. Gondorih had also requested 120 things (he mentioned some of them), of which only one, a parrot, was as yet unobtained. He proposed to go now and catch such a bird, with snare or blow-pipe, on the hill of Si Guntang-Guntang,⁷¹ after which he would call again at Tanau. He asked Maudun to come with him to help catch the bird, or if not, to conduct him back to Pariaman. Perceiving Nan Tungga's intentions, Patieh Maudun misled him. He agreed to come with Nan Tungga, and asked him to wait while he returned to Tanau to change his clothes and fetch his silken net for bird-catching.

Patieh Maudun rowed back to land. There Malin Mudo asked him, as he had returned alone, whether the people in the ship were not his relatives after all. Maudun said that it was not merely a relative but his own sister's son, Anggun Nan Tungga, who was *bako* to Santan Batapih. However, he had been unwilling to come ashore, perhaps because he wanted Santan herself to come and persuade him. Malin Mudo and the pupils returned to the mosque, and Maudun went to Santan Batapih's house.

When Maudun arrived, the geese honked and the doves flew up, and Santan's heart trembled. She looked out and saw that Maudun was alone. He entered the house, and before he had had time to rest Santan asked why he was alone, as she and the maids had worked hard to prepare food

for a guest. Were they not men of Tiku on the ship? Had he gone to the ship? Maudun reproved Santan for questioning him before he had had time to rest. He had indeed gone to the ship, and had met its captain, who was not merely a relative but his own sister's son, Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince of Tiku and Santan's *bako*. If that was so, replied Santan, why had Maudun been so foolish as not to bring him back? The people of Tiku would criticise her for this. Maudun told Santan not to blame him. When invited by Maudun, Nan Tungga had been unwilling to come ashore: perhaps he wanted Santan to go and welcome him. Maudun told Santan to go to the ship and trick Nan Tungga into coming to her house.

Santan agreed, but asked Maudun to tell her about the customs of Tiku Pariaman, lest she should accidentally give offence. The most important, said Maudun, was the offering of betel and cigarettes upon first meeting. She must take a pouch filled with the necessary ingredients. When she met Nan Tungga she must speak to him pleasingly, but steer a middle course, between the cheap and the dear. She must be like a diamond hidden beneath the earth, not like an overflowing basket. A girl should not stand about by the road-side, nor go out at night, except with an old person as companion. A girl should not look into a young man's face, for if their eyes met and their hearts were stirred, they might become fuel for hell's flames. He concluded: "If you would be honoured, keep your word, and give no cause for scandal. Lean upon custom as your staff. Measure your clothes to fit your body, lest you suffer disappointment." Santan Batapih promised to remember all her father's advice until her dying day. Then Maudun went back to the mosque.

Santan Batapih told her maid Kombang Malang that they would be going out to the ship, and asked her to fetch her clothes and jewellery. When Kombang Malang had done so, Santan asked her to watch while she tried her clothes on. Santan unpinning her hair, then oiled and combed it. She asked Kombang Malang to choose which of three hair-styles was best for going to meet her *bako*. She arranged her hair in three coils and pinned it in place, and Kombang Malang praised her coiffure in *pantun*. Then Santan put on a jacket of finely-patterned cloth woven by *jin*, which moved whoever saw it to restless longing, and a skirt with a jasmine-flower pattern. After putting on her ornaments, she looked as

beautiful as a 15-day old moon or a bud which will bloom the next day. Then Kombang Malang fetched a tasselled pouch and filled it with betel and tobacco. Before going, Santan Batapih told the 14 maids and 16 attendants to keep looking into the court-yard to see when Nan Tungga came. When the cock and the geese signalled his arrival, they were to welcome him at the court-yard gate with a golden betel-bowl and three pitchers of perfumed water.

Followed by Kombang Malang, Santan Batapih walked down the steps and across the yard, swaying as gracefully as a wild sugar-cane. They walked to the shore, looked out to sea, and saw Nan Tungga's ship. Santan Batapih caught sight of a man in the *pangipak* and, unable to restrain herself, waved with her handkerchief. Aboard the ship, Abang Salamat saw a princess on the shore waving her handkerchief. Upon looking carefully, he thought that she looked exactly like Gondorih, and went and told Anggun Nan Tungga. Nan Tungga asked Salamat where he had sold his wits, for the ship was nowhere near Tiku Pariaman. It was not Gondorih on the shore but probably Santan Batapih coming to greet them because Nan Tungga was her *bako*. He told Salamat to welcome Santan aboard and talk with her pleasantly, but not too freely. He should tell her that Nan Tungga was ill, and Nan Tungga would feign sleep. In this way he would fathom Santan's true feelings.

Santan and Kombang Malang rowed swiftly to the ship. Santan was in danger of hoping for too much, and of suffering from unrequited love. They went aboard and met Abang Salamat. Kombang Malang offered him betel and areca-nut, and when he had chewed a quid Santan introduced herself and asked to speak to Anggun Nan Tungga. Salamat said that Nan Tungga was asleep, and that if he woke him, Nan Tungga would menace him with a sword. He suggested that Santan should go and wake Nan Tungga herself, and agreed to show her the way, but asked her not to tell Nan Tungga. Salamat showed them to Anggun Tungga's cabin and returned to the *pangipak*.

Santan and Kombang Malang went in and found Nan Tungga asleep. Santan called to him to wake up, for the flower of Tanau was in full bloom and ready to fall. Nan Tungga heard her but pretended to sleep on. She called again, but still got no response. When she called a third time, Nan Tungga curled up even more and snored loudly. Santan reproached him for rejecting her. She had come to the ship because her

father, Nan Tungga's uncle, had told her to, and now she had fulfilled her obligation to her relations.

When he heard this, Nan Tungga got up sleepily and said that he had been dreaming. Addressing Santan as if she were Gondorih, he asked when she had left Tiku and complained that she did not trust him to carry out her instructions. Santan Batapih told Nan Tungga to wake up properly, as he was dreaming. She was not Gondorih but Santan Batapih, the daughter of Maudun. Nan Tungga asked her not to reproach him or take offence, as he was usually confused in speech when he woke suddenly. When he asked Santan why she had come, she replied that her father had told her to invite him to her house in Tanau for refreshment. Thus her sincerity could be proved and together they could assuage their cares.

Nan Tungga said that he wanted to visit her house, and was glad she had come to the ship as he did not know the way. However, he was worried that if they walked together to her home, it would offend custom and be thought improper, and he would be blamed. He suggested that she returned to Tanau first, and he followed later. Santan said he need not be anxious. They would keep to the well-trodden path of custom, and if anyone criticised them she would gladly pay any penalty, even with her life. She urged him not to delay. Nan Tungga said that she had allayed his anxiety, but one thing still worried him. If he, whose clothes were worn out, came to her house and was tempted by the sight of a cloth which he liked,⁷² then if he could only look at it, but not wear it, he would be frustrated and miserable. Santan told him not to worry on that score. She had woven the cloth herself, and it had long lain folded and waiting for him to wear it.

Nan Tungga said that, although he wanted to come ashore, he was ill with a fever which racked his whole body. When he was better he would visit her house. Santan replied that on board ship he could not call a *dukun* or seek medicines. She must not let him suffer alone, or the people of Tiku would censure her. If he came to her house, her parents would collect remedies and she would care for him. If he died on the ship, he would be buried at sea and feed the fishes. But if he were to die in her house, she would cover his body with an embroidered cloth, and he would be interred in her own burial-plot and prayed for by

her father's pupils. Or, if he did not wish to be buried, she would smear his body with fragrant powder and keep it in her *anjung*, uncovering it once a year to comfort her grief.

At a loss what to say, Nan Tungga revealed the truth. He told Santan Batapih that, when he left Tiku Pariaman, his fiancée Gondorih had requested 120 things, of which only one - a parrot - had not yet been obtained. He would go now and catch the parrot on the hill of Si Guntang-Guntang, and afterwards call again at Tanau on his way back to Tiku. Santan Batapih said that she was distressed that he should mention Gondorih. She had now discharged her debt to Pariaman by coming to the ship. She had a parrot which could speak, and which had worn its beak out waiting in its cage for Nan Tungga to fetch it. But what could she do? So far from taking the parrot, Nan Tungga would not even come ashore. So saying, Santan bade Nan Tungga farewell.

She had only walked two angry steps, when Nan Tungga called her, saying that he had only been testing her determination, but that she had taken him at his word. He would be glad to go to Tanau alone, but even more so if Santan took him. Nan Tungga went to take his leave of Abang Salamat, and told him that, after a long conversation, Santan had said that she had a parrot. He would now go briefly to Tanau and buy the bird. Gondorih's requests would then all be fulfilled, and they would sail back to Tiku Pariaman. Salamat warned him not to forget his vow to Gondorih. If the water of Tanau was pure, he must not drink it, and if the cloth was fine, he must not buy it; for if he broke his oath, Gondorih would curse Abang Salamat. Anggun Nan Tungga answered that he had not forgotten his vow, in fact it was precisely because of his promise that he was going to Tanau to fetch the parrot.

Nan Tungga, Santan and Kombang Malang rowed to land. From the promontory they walked to the fork in the road and took the turning to Santan Batapih's house. After a while Nan Tungga saw the house, which had three parts: on one side a verandah, on the other a house in the 'sitting elephant' style, and between them a 12-roomed family house. There were seven rice-barns in the courtyard. When Anggun Nan Tungga reached the gate of the yard, the five geese honked, the doves flew up, and the cock crew.

Hearing this the maids raced to look out of the window, and when they

saw Anggun Nan Tungga they said to each other: "No wonder the geese honked and the cock crew! Few princes are so handsome, and few princesses are fit to be his bride." Then they hurried down to greet Nan Tungga with the golden betel-bowl. They told him in *pantun* that they were tired of waiting and had worn the window-sill smooth by looking out for him. He replied that he was late only because Santan had been slow to fetch him. Fanned by maids on either side, he proceeded to the house, where he mounted the steps and bathed his face with perfumed water. Entering the house, Nan Tungga stood hesitantly when he saw the great variety of foods set out, and the velvet quilt, cushion and umbrella arranged at the far end of the room. At Kombang Malang's invitation, Nan Tungga sat down, and betel and cigarettes were passed to and fro.

They all ate and drank, and after Nan Tungga had smoked a cigarette and Santan had chewed betel, Nan Tungga asked to see the parrot. Santan was silent and dejected, and Anggun Tungga asked whether he had said something which offended her. Santan said that she had made an unfortunate mistake: the parrot had been sold the previous day without her knowledge. Nan Tungga replied that she had beguiled him and he was disappointed, but that his destiny, not she, was to blame. He would now return to the ship. Santan, however, said that she had sold the parrot to her cousin Dandomi Sutan, and could therefore buy it back. She suggested that they should go to Ruhun to fetch the bird, and Nan Tungga agreed. Santan said she would first obtain her father's permission, and she and Kombang Malang left the house and hastened to Maudun's mosque.

Santan Batapih told her father that Nan Tungga had come to the house and had asked for a parrot. As she had no parrot, what should she do? Maudun said that she ought to fulfil her *bako*'s request, even if it was difficult, so that the people of Pariaman should not censure her, and he gave her a *gantang* of gold dust to buy a parrot with. When Santan asked where she could buy one, he told her to buy it from Kulindan Suto or Jorak Manjori, both of whom lived in Tanau. If she failed to obtain a parrot from either of them, she should come back to him, and he would find one. Santan was about to go when Maudun warned her that, although her cousin Dandomi Sutan had a parrot, Santan was on no account to go to Dandomi's house. For al-

though Nan Tungga was *bako* to both her and Dandomi, he was more directly related to Dandomi. If Santan took Nan Tungga to Dandomi's house, there would be trouble, and she might return home alone. Santan said that she would take his prohibition to heart, then she and Kombang Malang went back to her house. When Anggun Nan Tungga came out to meet them, Santan told him that Maudun had granted her permission to go and buy the parrot from Dandomi, and had given her a *gantang* of gold for the purpose.

TO RUHUN

Against her father's wishes, Santan Batapih set off for Ruhun with Anggun Nan Tungga. First they came to the house of Kulindan Suto, and a little further on reached Jorak Manjori's house at the boundary between Tanau and Ruhun.⁷⁴ They walked on and eventually came to a fork in the road. Santan explained that the right fork led to the arena, where a tournament had been in progress for two months, and the other road led to Dandomi Sutan's house. When Nan Tungga asked who was holding the tournament, Santan replied that it was Monggueng Kayo, the ruler of Ruhun and Dandomi's father. Further on Nan Tungga noticed a council-hall with pillars sheathed in tin, a roof as smooth as oil, and eaves curving like the flight of a bee. Santan told him that it was Dandomi Sutan's council-hall and was used for administering justice. After going still further Nan Tungga was startled to see a glow like sunset radiating from the direction of Dandomi Sutan's house. He said that it must be on fire and that they should go back to Tanau to buy a parrot, but Santan explained that Dandomi's court-yard was full of gold and diamonds which gave off a radiance like sunlight in the forest. So they walked on and came to the flower-garden at the edge of Dandomi Sutan's compound. Nan Tungga stopped and asked Santan Batapih what was the noise coming from the house. Was it the sound of *robab*, *kucapi* and *calémpung*? Was Dandomi holding a feast? Santan Batapih replied that it was the sound of the maids and attendants winding silk and weaving cloth.

Santan Batapih told Nan Tungga to hide in the flower-garden while she went into the house by herself and bought the parrot; she would tell Dandomi that she had come from Tanau alone. Unfortunately, just then the geese honked when they saw a prince standing there, and the

doves flew up and the cock crew. They were heard by Dandomi, who was sitting in the *anjung* twirling the rings on her fingers, and she told Kombang Malang to look outside and see if a bird-snarer was about or a hawk had swooped. Kombang looked out and saw Santan Batapih talking with a handsome prince at the end of the compound. She told Dandomi that her young cousin from Tanau was at the end of the compound, accompanied by a prince of exceptionally fine appearance. Dandomi hurried to look. When she saw how handsome the prince was, Dandomi sat down feeling dismayed and uneasy, and complained to Kombang Malang that Santan had brought her fiancé to Ruhun in order to show off her superiority. She, Dandomi, would lose face, because two tournaments had already been held in order to find her a husband, but still without success.⁷⁵ She asked Kombang Malang what to do to avoid humiliation. Kombang suggested that before Santan came into the court-yard they should shut all the doors and windows and pretend to be asleep. If Santan called out they should not reply - it was better to be criticized by Santan than to suffer loss of face. Dandomi agreed and Kombang Malang leapt to tell the maids and attendants. They all stopped weaving and raced to shut the doors and windows, then pretended to sleep. Not a word could be heard; the house was as silent as if it were deserted.

Santan Batapih told Nan Tungga that she would now go and buy the parrot. He went into the garden and sat snapping twigs and tossing pebbles. When Santan reached the edge of the court-yard, she saw with consternation that all the windows were shut. A moment ago, she said to herself, she had heard the sound of weaving, but now the house was shut up. If Dandomi or her attendants had gone to the bathing-place, surely she would have noticed them? Perhaps they were all asleep. From the yard Santan called to Dandomi to wake up, if she was there. Dandomi heard, but she and Kombang and the maids were silent. Santan called again, but again there was no answer. At a loss what to do, Santan ran back and told Nan Tungga what had happened. She said that the house must be empty, and proposed that they should return to Tanau and buy a parrot there. Nan Tungga said that he was very surprised, since they had both heard the sound of weaving in the house. He told Santan to call a third time, and if there was still no reply they would go back to Tanau. Santan ran back and called again, but no one answered.

As ill luck would have it, Anggun Tungga's anger was aroused. He

ran and stood just outside the *anjueng* and told Santan in a loud voice not to call any more, as the house was obviously empty. He said that he, whose name was Anggun Nan Tungga, should not have left his home in Tiku Pariaman, because he was a ruler there. But he had done so in order to seek his lost uncles, one of whom was Monggueng Kayo, the father of Dandomi. Having already visited Santan's home in Tanau, because he was her *bako*, he had now come to Dandomi's house, for the same reason. But, so far from receiving hospitality, he found the house empty and shut. If ever Dandomi came to Pariaman, he would repay her. He asked Santan Batapih to take him now to the arena, from where he would take Monggueng Kayo home to Pariaman, so making the inhospitable Dandomi suffer.

Dandomi heard all this clearly in the *anjueng*. She beat her breast remorsefully and asked Kombang Malang how she could cover her shame. Kombang Malang proposed that Dandomi should unpin her hair, bind up her head, and pretend to have a fever. If Santan called again, Kombang Malang would open the window slowly and look out as if she had just woken up. If Santan came in, Dandomi was to speak in a weak voice and open her eyes with great effort, as if she had been ill for two weeks. Dandomi agreed. She unpinned and tousled her hair, bound up her head and lay down.

Nan Tungga went back and waited in the garden, and Santan called again from the yard. Kombang Malang opened the window, and when Santan complained that she had not answered before, Kombang explained that Dandomi had been ill for two weeks and the house had been shut day and night. She invited Santan in, saying how fortunate it was that she had come just when they were hoping she would. Santan went in and found Dandomi lying in the *anjueng* looking ill. She asked Dandomi how long she had been ill and why she had not sent a message. Dandomi said, in a weak voice and opening her eyes with difficulty, that she had been ill for two weeks, and there had been no one by whom she could send a message. She had dreamt of Santan day and night, hoping that she would come and comfort her. She said that she felt better already for Santan's presence, and invited her down into the house to chew betel.

When they had chewed a quid, Dandomi reproved Santan for walking from Tanau by herself, unaccompanied by her maids. For a girl to go out

unattended was flouting custom and asking for trouble, and she must not do it again. Santan replied that although she had entered the house alone, she had come from Tanau with her father's pupil Malin Mudo, who was waiting in the garden. Dandomi said that she was glad to hear this, and then asked Santan Batapih why she had come. Santan replied that for the past week she had been feeling worried, for no apparent reason, and she had come in the hope of borrowing Dandomi's parrot, so that the bird could keep her company and dispel her cares. Dandomi said that she would be glad for Santan to borrow the parrot; indeed she had been going to suggest it, because for the last two weeks, during her illness, the parrot had not been fed or watered at the right times, and had suffered as a result. However, she asked Santan to have pity on her and stay with her for three days. After that, she might be well enough to come back to Tanau with Santan.

Uncertain what to do, Santan answered that she would like to stay, but she had come to Ruhun without her parents' permission, and if she were absent from Tanau for three nights, people would start searching for her. She suggested that she should go home now and come back another day. If she could take the parrot now, she would hire it from Dandomi, without haggling over the price, for a *gantang* of gold. Dandomi upbraided Santan for buying and selling with her own cousin. Although it was she who kept the parrot, was it not virtually Santan's? She said she was grieved to hear Santan talk of prices. Santan was at her wits' end and reduced to silence. Then Dandomi said that she was not averse to selling the parrot, if it was to someone other than Santan, some stranger from afar.

Deceived, Santan Batapih confessed that she had lied, and that Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince from Tikau and their *bako*, had come to Tanau. He had asked for a parrot, and she had come to Dandomi in order to fulfil his request, because he was their *bako*. If Dandomi was going to miss the parrot, it could be replaced with another; and to buy that replacement - but not to buy Dandomi's parrot - Santan would leave a *gantang* of gold with Dandomi. Dandomi said she forgave Santan for lying to her, as she was still so young, and agreed that it was right to fulfil Nan Tungga's request. However, what worried her was this: if Santan gave Dandomi's parrot to Nan Tungga, and he knew that the bird was Dandomi's, he would certainly not accept it; for it was to Santan that he

had made the request, but it was Dandomi's parrot which he received, so that Santan's obligation was not discharged. Furthermore, said Dandomi, it had been wrong of Santan to keep Nan Tungga to herself, and not bring him to Ruhun. As for her parrot, it was not for sale, its purpose was to find her a husband. Santan must buy a parrot from someone else; she already had a *gantang* of gold, and Dandomi would give her a *taka*⁷⁶ of gold or more if needed.

As Santan Batapih brooded in distress over these harsh words, Dandomi Sutan said that if Santan brought Anggun Nan Tungga to Ruhun, she would grant his request; but unfortunately Santan had left him in Tanau. Santan then admitted apologetically that she had lied, and that Nan Tungga was waiting in the flower-garden. Dandomi said that she would forgive Santan for lying, and suggested that Nan Tungga be invited into the house for a moment before he took the parrot away.

At Dandomi's bidding, Kombang Malang took a golden betel-bowl and hurried to the garden to welcome Nan Tungga. She told him that he was invited by Dandomi Sutan to come in for a moment, and asked him why he was in the garden. Nan Tungga replied that Santan Batapih had told him to wait there and not come into the house. Kombang told him that Santan and Dandomi had been quarrelling: Santan had asked Dandomi for a parrot for Nan Tungga to take to Pariaman, but Dandomi had refused, not because she begrudged him the bird, but because she wanted him to take it with his own hands. But if Santan had forbidden him to enter, what could he do? Nan Tungga replied that he was waiting in the garden, not out of obedience to Santan, but because he wished to be invited in by the people of the house, since he had come uninvited. Now that he had been asked in, it was his duty to comply. Nan Tungga and Kombang Malang went up into the house, and Nan Tungga saw Santan sitting anxious and dejected. Then his and Dandomi's eyes met, and went deep into each other's hearts. Nan Tungga was seated on a velvet quilt, and betel and cigarettes were passed to and fro.

Santan Batapih suggested to Dandomi Sutan that she should bring the parrot down from the *anjueng* for Nan Tungga to see and talk to. At this the parrot called to Santan, saying that it had listened to her and Dandomi quarrelling, and had heard that it was to be taken to Tiku by Anggun Nan Tungga. However, it had made an agreement with Monggueng

Kayo, that it would not change its abode for three months, and only one month had so far elapsed. Nan Tungga must wait there for two months, and only then would the parrot sail to Pariaman.⁷⁷ Nan Tungga asked Santan Batapih what she thought. She agreed, but proposed that they should wait the two months in Tanau, as Nan Tungga had taken leave of Salamat for only a brief absence. Dandomi winked at Nan Tungga, and the parrot called out to Nan Tungga that if he could not wait two months, it would shorten the period. If Nan Tungga stayed in Ruhun for two days, it would gladly sail with him to Tiku Pariaman. Dandomi and Kombang Malang pretended not to be interested, and Nan Tungga asked Santan Batapih what she thought about staying two days in Ruhun. Santan told Nan Tungga that he had better wait the two days without her. She would go back to Tanau alone; otherwise her father would be angry, as he had only let her go briefly.

With a stamp, Santan Batapih stood up and went out, leaving Dandomi Sutan and Anggun Nan Tungga together. As she left the house, the parrot called out in *pantun* about Dandomi's good luck and Santan's ill fortune, and asked Santan why, if she had come to Ruhun with a young prince, she was leaving without him. As Santan wept and tore her hair, the parrot called out in another *pantun* that an eagle had snatched Santan's fighting cock out of her arms, and she was left with only the cord to weep over. Sobbing and beating her breast, Santan Batapih walked empty-handed back to Tanau. When she went into her house, Kombang Malang asked her why she had come back weeping and alone, and where she had left Anggun Nan Tungga. Santan did not answer, but went up into the *anjueng*, lay down and cried herself to sleep.

When a meal had been served and cleared away, Anggun Nan Tungga told Dandomi Sutan that his purpose in coming had been to obtain her pet parrot and take it home to Tiku Pariaman. Was she willing to let him have the bird? Dandomi said that she would be glad for him to take the parrot, for he was her *bako* and had come from afar. However, she warned him not to be too sure that he could take the parrot, for it was a very wilful bird. He had better talk to it first, and as soon as the parrot agreed, he should tell Dandomi, who would make ready a new cage.

Anggun Nan Tungga went up into the *anjueng*, told the parrot that Dandomi had sent him, and asked what its name was. It replied that its name was Nuri Munjonun.⁷⁸ Nan Tungga told the bird that he wanted to

take it to Pariaman, and that Dandomi had given her permission. But, he asked, was Munjonun willing to be taken? Munjonun replied that it was overjoyed that Nan Tungga wanted to take it to Tiku, and that it would be glad to part with Dandomi. Suggesting that they should lower their voices to avoid being heard by Dandomi, the parrot said that she was capricious: in her good moods she would praise the parrot, but in her bad ones she would curse the bird and starve it. How lucky that Nan Tungga wanted to take it: it was like hoping for a shoot and getting a salad. How it looked forward to seeing Tiku Pariaman! However, it had promised Monggueng Kayo that it would not go away before the tournament was finished, because it helped entertain those present. It therefore asked Nan Tungga to wait until the games were ended.

Saying that he felt both hopeful and anxious, Nan Tungga asked when the tournament would end. Munjonun replied that it did not know, because Monggueng Kayo was the one holding the games. However, the parrot proposed that, for the sake of a speedy return to Tiku, Nan Tungga should go to the arena himself and close the tournament, whereupon they could sail for Pariaman. Nan Tungga replied that it would be difficult for him, a stranger, to close the tournament, which was attended by local dignitaries and governed by traditional rules; he did not know how to close a tournament. The parrot answered that it would not be difficult. Nan Tungga should go to the arena, and as soon as he spoke to Monggueng Kayo, the games would end of their own accord. Nan Tungga agreed to go, but said that he had neither proper clothing nor a horse. Munjonun told him that Dandomi Sutan had a complete set of clothing, which had been handed down to Monggueng Kayo, and which he should ask her for. She also had a black horse, on which he could go to the games. He urged Nan Tungga to speak to Dandomi at once, so that they could sail for Pariaman the next day.

Convinced by the parrot, Anggun Nan Tungga descended from the *anjueng* and told Dandomi that the parrot was willing to go, but had made the strange demand that he should close the tournament, and had told him to ask her for clothing and a horse. Dandomi advised Nan Tungga to comply with the parrot's request, because it was a deceitful bird which would break its promise unless Nan Tungga did as it asked. She said that Nan Tungga could use her father's ancestral clothing, and that she would provide a horse. She had Kombang Malang fetch the clothing from a chest, and Nan

Tungga put it on. In the well-fitting jacket of fine velvet, Achinese trousers and kerchief, he looked very like Monggueng Kayo.

Dandomi Sutan went to the window and called her groom, Sampono Alam, to prepare the black horse Burocieh Aluh for Anggun Nan Tungga. Sampono Alam brought the horse out of its stable and tethered it to an orange-tree in the court-yard. He put on its saddle, stirrups, reins and three bells. Nan Tungga, Dandomi and all the maids went down into the yard, and the horse stamped and whinnied with pleasure to see the handsome prince. Dandomi told the horse that Nan Tungga was going to ride to the tournament, and she commanded it to swim through the arena and spread confusion among those present. Dandomi told Nan Tungga to mount, and he replied that he was unused to riding horses or going to tournaments, but would do so because he was ordered to by Dandomi and the parrot. Thanking Sampono Alam for his services, he mounted and practised riding up and down the court-yard. After three turns, Sampono Alam released the reins and the horse galloped out of the yard and down the road towards the arena.

Dandomi Sutan hurried to the *anjueng* and angrily rebuked the parrot for sending Nan Tungga to the tournament, for when Nan Tungga had closed the games, he would take Munjonun to Pariaman. She accused the bird of abandoning her to her fate. The parrot replied that it was for Dandomi's sake that it had sent Nan Tungga to close the tournament. According to the parrot's plan, when Nan Tungga returned, the bird would ask him what the purpose of the games had been, and would refuse to go to Pariaman until Nan Tungga found out the answer. Dandomi was not to tell Nan Tungga, but to bid him ask her father. When Nan Tungga asked Monggueng Kayo, he would tell him, with the result that Dandomi's wish would be fulfilled with Nan Tungga. Dandomi praised the parrot for its resourcefulness.

As Anggun Nan Tungga rode along, he heard cheering and clapping and saw a great crowd in the arena. Many different contests were in progress, and many bets were being laid. The banners were like a plantation of bananas,⁷⁹ and umbrellas sprouted like mushrooms. When Nan Tungga rode into the arena, everyone was startled and confused: fighting-cocks were released, spurs were dropped, and chess-tables were overturned. Wherever Anggun Tungga rode, a throng of people followed him, peering and whispering among themselves that he was the handsomest prince who had yet

come to the tournament. When Nan Tungga rode up to the *pangulu's* pavilion, they were startled and Monggueng Kayo was disturbed at the sight of the velvet jacket worn by the prince on horseback. At the suggestion of the umpire of the games, Monggueng Kayo invited Nan Tungga up into the pavilion. Nan Tungga was seated on cushions in the *anjueng*, and when betel had been chewed and cigarettes smoked, the umpire suggested to Monggueng Kayo that he should question Nan Tungga.

After calling for silence, Monggueng Kayo asked Nan Tungga what his name was, where he came from, and why he had arrived then, when the games had been in progress for three months and all the other princes were already present. Anggun Nan Tungga answered that his name was Rajo Mudo, and that he came from beyond the great ocean. He had been unable to sail when he received the invitation, and had set out late because he was determined to respond to the invitation if he possibly could. Monggueng Kayo commented that Nan Tungga's clothes were in the material and cut of the olden days, and asked him where he had bought or borrowed them. And where had he obtained his horse? Nan Tungga replied that his jacket was an heirloom, handed down to his maternal uncle, from whom he had inherited it. When Monggueng Kayo asked him to explain, Nan Tungga said that the jacket had been kept in a chest at home, but when he had grown old enough to inherit it, he had looked for it and found that it had disappeared. He had searched everywhere, and had even sailed over the sea to look for it. Eventually he had found the jacket at the house of Dandomi Sutan. Then Nan Tungga admitted that his home was really in Tiku Pariaman, and that he was Anggun Nan Tungga, the son of Monggueng Kayo's sister Conto Pomai.

At this Monggueng Kayo wept and embraced Nan Tungga, exclaiming delightedly that he had never expected to meet his own sister's son, who had now sought him from afar. When he left home, Conto Pomai had been a girl in plaits and Nan Tungga not yet born. Nan Tungga told Monggueng Kayo that he and his 300 followers had searched for him for five months, so resolutely that not even hell-fire would have deterred them, and would now take him home to Pariaman. Monggueng Kayo announced to the dignitaries and general public that the games were now concluded, and that they would all go in procession to the council-hall, where everything would be settled. The elders understood what Monggueng Kayo meant. Nan Tungga mounted the black horse, and a large crowd followed him,

cheering and clapping, to the council-hall.

When they arrived there, Nan Tungga asked his uncle's leave to return to Dandomi's house for a moment, in order to fulfil his promise to the parrot. He rode back to Dandomi's house, tethered the horse in the yard, and went in. Dandomi asked him if he had spoken to her father, and he replied that he had met Monggueng Kayo and told him who he was, Monggueng Kayo had closed the tournament, and the people had now assembled at the council-hall. He had fulfilled his promise to the parrot, and would now take the bird and sail for Pariaman. Dandomi told him that he should discuss the matter with the parrot, not with her.

Nan Tungga went and told Munjonun that the games were over and now, in accordance with the bird's promise, they would sail for Tiku Pariaman. The parrot answered that it would only go to Tiku if Nan Tungga would explain what the purpose of the tournament had been. At this Anggun Nan Tungga was dismayed. He protested that he had already done what the parrot wanted by closing the tournament, and now he was asked what the tournament had been for. How could a stranger like him answer such a question? The parrot suggested that he should ask Dandomi Sutan, and said that as soon as he had found out, they would sail for Tiku. Nan Tungga went and told Dandomi about the parrot's new demand. He said he did not know the answer, and begged Dandomi to tell him. She asked him where he had sold his wits and bought stupidity: how could she, who spent all day in the *anjueng*, know the purpose of the tournament? Her father had held the games: Nan Tungga should ask him.

Nan Tungga went out and asked Sampono Alam to ride to the council-hall, tell Monggueng Kayo that Nan Tungga wished to speak with him, and then bring him back. Sampono Alam rode to the council-hall, tethered the horse and made his way through the crowd to speak to Monggueng Kayo. He told Monggueng Kayo that Nan Tungga was sitting pensively in the courtyard and had sent him to fetch Monggueng Kayo for a moment. Monggueng Kayo asked the elders to wait for him, then rode back to Dandomi's house, where he found Nan Tungga looking anxious and thoughtful.

Nan Tungga explained to his uncle that he had come to the tournament because he wanted to take the parrot back to Tiku Pariaman, and the bird would only come on condition that Nan Tungga brought games to an end. Now the parrot refused to go unless Nan Tungga found out the purpose of

the tournament. What, asked Nan Tungga, had the games been held for? Monggueng Kayo explained that, when Dandomi Sutan had come of age but was still not engaged, the idea had occurred to him of holding a tournament to find her a husband. However, although two tournaments had been held, no one worthy of Dandomi had been found. Then, by good fortune, Nan Tungga had come at the right moment. Monggueng Kayo likened Dandomi to a ship waiting with sails spread but without a captain, and he appealed to Nan Tungga to take the helm and sail the ocean with Dandomi. He said he regarded Nan Tungga and Dandomi as well-matched in every respect, and urged him to tread the well-worn path with her. Anggun Nan Tungga declined, saying that he thought of Dandomi as a sister, not a possible wife; but Monggueng Kayo answered that if Nan Tungga evaded his duty and Allah's will, relations between Nan Tungga and himself would be severed. Now, he said, he would hold a large feast. Anggun Nan Tungga acquiesced.

Monggueng Kayo rode quickly back to the council-hall and announced that all was now agreed, and that a feast lasting two weeks would begin at once. Everyone thronged to Dandomi's house and put up arches, banners and umbrellas in preparation for the feast. Then the celebrations began, and Anggun Nan Tungga and Dandomi Sutan were joined like blade and hilt, never to be put asunder, unless Allah decreed it.

Days, weeks and months passed, and the ties of love bound Nan Tungga closely to Dandomi Sutan. Meanwhile the long ship lay at anchor. After three years, Dandomi bore a son, whom they named Mandugombak. He was cherished by both his parents, and grew quickly in mind and body. The child followed his father about, and would cry if Nan Tungga left him by so much as a step.

One day Anggun Nan Tungga sat brooding about his love for Gondoriah, which had come to nothing, and about his vow that he would return to Tiku Pariaman in seven months, whereas three years had now gone by. Dandomi asked why, for the first time in three years, he had suddenly grown sad and pensive. If he was ill, she would collect simples. If her behaviour was at fault, he ought to tell her, and she could change it. Nan Tungga replied that he was not hungry or ill, nor was her behaviour to blame. He was brooding because, as Dandomi knew, when he left Tiku he had promised to return in seven months, but now he had

been away for three years. He feared that the people, believing him ship-wrecked or captured by the Dutch, might have gone to sea in search of him, for he was a prince of Tiku and his mother's only son. Nan Tungga said that Dandomi and he had become like a ring on a finger, but now the ring must be removed. He asked leave to go, for he longed to see Tiku Pariaman and his parents again.

Distressed by these words, Dandomi Sutan complained that he, who was her support in this world and the next, was deserting her in spite of the close bonds of love. When he had wrenched out the blade, who would bind up the broken hilt? It was not the thought of parting that grieved her, but the fact that Mandugombak would be abandoned. The child would cry if Nan Tungga moved even one step away, let alone going to Pariaman. What troubled her most was that, if Nan Tungga went away, Mandugombak would treat some stranger as his father. Why had he taught the child to cling to him, if he was going to abandon him? She refused to let Nan Tungga go until Mandugombak was older.

In order to persuade Dandomi, Nan Tungga agreed that he ought not to leave Mandugombak. But Dandomi must remember that he was a prince in Pariaman. He would spend only two weeks in Pariaman, while the people found a ruler to replace him, then he would return, bringing his parents. Dandomi replied that, as Nan Tungga's heart was wholly set on going, she could not prevent him - it would be like trying to stop water flowing downstream. However, he must not take the parrot to Tiku, for it would serve to comfort Mandugombak when he woke in the night and cried for his father. The bird would take Nan Tungga's place.

When he heard this, Anggun Nan Tungga wondered what to do: it had been for the sake of getting the parrot that he had consented to spend so long with Dandomi, and now she forbade him to take the bird. Then he thought of a way to trick her. He said he was glad that she agreed to let him return to Tiku, but refused to let him take the parrot. However, the reason why he had left Tiku and why his parents allowed him to go, was to seek his lost uncles. He had found his uncle Monggueng Kayo here, but it would have been difficult to take him home, because he was ruler here, and Ruhun's brilliant torch would have been extinguished. Therefore Nan Tungga had asked for Dandomi's parrot, to take home as a witness that the lost had been found. Now, however, Dandomi prohibited him from taking the parrot, and he would have to take her father instead.

She should say farewell to Monggueng Kayo and not expect to see him again, for the betel-leaf was returning to its stem, and the areca-nut to its stalk.

Dandomi Sutan forbad Nan Tungga to speak again of taking Monggueng Kayo to Tikú, for Ruhun would be deprived of its bright torch and its far-seeing mirror. Rather than that, Nan Tungga should take the parrot. However, said Dandomi, she had never visited Tikú Pariaman, her father's home, and if Nan Tungga was going she did not wish to be left behind. She would therefore come with him.

This made Nan Tungga more worried still, and he said to himself: "If I take Dandomi to Tikú, I shall not be able to fulfil my wish with Gondoriah." Then he thought of a way of deceiving her. He said what a piece of luck it was that she wanted to come to Tikú. He would have taken her anyway, but had not mentioned it because she was her mother's only daughter. However, if she wanted to go to Tikú, she should sound the drum in the council-hall to summon all her friends and relations. She must bid them farewell, and not expect to see them again. For when she reached Tikú, Nan Tungga's mother, who had no daughter, would be overjoyed. Dandomi would take the place of a daughter, and live in the hitherto empty *anjueng*.

Dandomi said that Nan Tungga put her in a dilemma. No course seemed right. A pole was too long to poke with, an arm too short to reach. To advance was to die, to retreat meant losing the way. She forbad Nan Tungga to go to Pariaman. Mandugombak was too young to be left. He cried if Nan Tungga left him by one step, let alone going to Pariaman. If Nan Tungga went away, Mandugombak would treat some passer-by as his father. Nan Tungga must wait until Mandugombak was older.

Sick of parleying, Nan Tungga flew into a rage. He warned Dandomi not to pull the thread to breaking-point. If she would not allow him to go, he would burn incense and, with her family as witnesses, break the tie between them and pull the blade from the hilt. Dandomi told Nan Tungga not to be so quick-tempered. Since he longed so much to go home, she could no more stop him than she could prevent water running down-stream, and she would let him go with a good grace. But she asked that,

before he left, he should go and bathe at the bathing place and dismiss its tutelary spirits, so that Mandugombak would not be accosted by water-sprites when he went to bathe.

Anggun Nan Tungga assured Dandomi Sutan that he had not really been angry, and agreed to go to the bathing-place. After plucking three kinds of lime in the court-yard, he walked to the bathing-place with its three ivory conduits. The water was so pure that Nan Tungga felt fresh just to look at it. He changed into his bathing clothes, plunged in and splashed about performing various strokes, and the carp darted to and fro mistaking his beauty-spots for drifting blossoms.

RELEASING THE PARROT

Meanwhile Dandomi Sutan sat brooding sadly about Nan Tungga's going. Then an idea came to her, and she hurried to the *anjueng* to speak to the parrot. She told the bird that she and Nan Tungga had been quarrelling: Nan Tungga wanted to return to Tiku, but she thought he ought not to abandon Mandugombak. Nan Tungga had said that he longed for his home and the village elders, but she did not believe him. She thought he might have a fiancée in Tiku, whom he missed and wanted to marry. Dandomi asked the parrot to help, out of pity for Mandugombak and herself. When Nan Tungga came back presently, she would go to the bathing-place, and the parrot was to trick Anggun Tungga into revealing whether he had a fiancée in Tiku Pariaman. The parrot agreed, and told Dandomi not to hurry back from the bathing-place.

When Nan Tungga had cleansed himself with the three limes and dressed again, he said a final farewell to the bathing-place and commanded its guardian spirits to depart. Then he walked back to Dandomi's house, went in and told her that he had bathed and dismissed the spirits of the bathing-place. She asked him not to leave for Tiku until she had been to the bathing-place with Mandugombak. The child was hot and sweaty because Nan Tungga was going to leave him, but when his body had been cooled by bathing he would sleep soundly, and Nan Tungga could depart without him knowing. Dandomi called Mandugombak and carried him, weeping in her arms, to the bathing-place.

The parrot asked Nan Tungga to come up to the *anjueng*, and in trepidation Nan Tungga went up and asked the bird what it wanted to say.

The parrot said that it was lucky that the two of them were left alone, and asked Nan Tungga to keep a look-out for Dandomi, lest they be discovered. The bird said it had overheard him and Dandomi quarrelling, and asked him if he really wanted to go home to Tiku. Nan Tungga replied that he did indeed long to return to his home and family, and that it was natural, as he had been away for three years. Dandomi had agreed to let him go, but what did the parrot think about going?

The bird answered that it was delighted: it had hoped for a shoot and got a salad. For (here the parrot suggested they lower their voices) Dandomi was capricious, praising the bird in her good moods, but cursing and starving it in her bad ones. Now at last it would find a safe perch. How it looked forward to seeing Tiku Pariaman! Nan Tungga said that his only purpose in staying in Ruhun for three years had been to wait for the parrot. Why, if the bird wanted to go to Tiku, had it only just said so? The parrot explained that this had been its first chance to speak privately with Nan Tungga, as normally Dandomi or one of her maids was always in the *anjueng*. The bird then said that in Ruhun it had been used to the company of a princess and her attendants, and it hoped that in Tiku, too, it would be the pet of a princess in her *anjueng*.

Nan Tungga said that it was indeed as a pet for a princess that he was taking the parrot to Tiku. There was indeed a princess in Pariaman - his fiancée Gondorlah. She had let him leave Tiku on condition that he returned in seven months, but now three years had passed. He had broken his promise, but Gondorlah was still waiting for him. She had also asked him to find her 120 rare objects (here he mentioned several of them). The parrot was the only one not yet obtained, and it had been in order to secure the parrot that he had consented to live for years with Dandomi. Nan Tungga told the bird of his vow to Gondorlah, that when he was abroad he would not pluck the flowers that bloomed. If he broke his vow, Gondorlah would retire to the top of Gunueng Lédang, making her home in the deep forest, with ferns for her mattress.

The parrot said how much it looked forward to being Gondorlah's pet, and declared that whether Dandomi liked it or not they should sail for Pariaman forthwith. Then it asked Nan Tungga to open the cage and let it fly out for a while to beat its wings and hammer with its bill - something Dandomi never allowed. Nan Tungga said that if the bird was willing to go to Tiku, he would grant whatever it asked. But where would it fly,

and would it come back quickly? If it returned late, Dandomi would find the cage empty, and he would be blamed. The parrot replied that it would not fly far, only to Gunueng Érak Gémbang. Before leaving Ruhun, it wanted to visit its grandfather Jonggi Tuo, who lived on the top of the mountain. From him the parrot would obtain a medicine to cure it of love for Dandomi, so that when it reached Tiku it would not pine for her. Then it would fly back again quickly before Dandomi had returned from the bathing-place.

Nan Tungga took the cage to the window and released the parrot. It soared up towards the mountain, then swooped down to the bathing-place. Alighting in a leafy tree, the bird signalled its arrival by beating its wings and hammering with its beak, which sounded like *bénsi*⁸⁰ and *calémpong*. When Dandomi looked up and saw the parrot, she was alarmed. She beat her breast and tore her hair and asked the bird how it came to be free. The parrot replied that it had tricked Nan Tungga, who had revealed that his reason for returning to Tiku was to marry his betrothed, Gondorlah, and that his purpose in staying in Ruhun had been to obtain the parrot for Gondorlah. The bird also told Dandomi that Nan Tungga had promised Gondorlah not to pluck the blossoms or drink the pure water while he was abroad, and that if he broke his word Gondorlah would retire to the top of Gunueng Lédang.

Dandomi Sutan praised the parrot's skill, and said that it was no wonder Nan Tungga wanted to return to Tiku, because his fiancée was longing for him. He would not have ceased to love her and Mandugombak, if Gondorlah had not called him. Dandomi asked the bird to help her by flying to Tiku Pariaman and telling Gondorlah that Nan Tungga had married her and now had a son, Mandugombak, who clung to him. When she heard this, Gondorlah would withdraw to the summit of Gunueng Lédang. After that the parrot was to delay about a year before returning to Ruhun. Then Dandomi would allow Nan Tungga to go hom to Tiku Pariaman, so that he could visit the desolate compound and the ruined *anjueng*, and climb the mountain in search of Gondorlah. The parrot said it would do whatever Dandomi told it to, and then took its leave of her. It soared up until it looked as small as a beetle, flew up again until it seemed the size of a spinach seed, then rose higher still and was lost to sight.

With rapid strokes of its wings, the parrot slipped swiftly through the air, passing over villages, promontories and islands. After three hours its wings felt tired and it looked for a place to perch and rest. In the distance it espied a green mountain-top, and as it approached saw a leafy tree on the side of the mountain which seemed a good place to stop. The parrot alighted there and saw that many other kinds of bird were in the tree, eating its fruit and flowers.

Dandomi Sutan and Mandugombak finished bathing and walked back to the house. Anggun Nan Tungga was waiting anxiously at the window for the parrot to return, and when he saw Dandomi he wondered uneasily what explanation he could give her. Dandomi came in, pretending not to know anything. Nan Tungga told her that the parrot had asked to be let out of the cage because its wings hurt, and that out of pity he had released it, on condition that it returned quickly. Dandomi made no reply but sat brooding, and Nan Tungga asked her why she was silent. She told him he was a fool to have set the bird free, and should not expect to see it come back. Now she would not allow him to return to Tiku, for he must take the place of her bird. When the parrot returned, then she would let Nan Tungga go back to Tiku.⁸¹ Nan Tungga sat and meditated on his fate.

The parrot Munjonun noticed that among the other birds there was a parrot which looked distressed, and was not eating any flowers or fruit. Munjonun asked why it was upset and not eating - was it grieving over missing young or broken eggs? The parrot replied that it was sad because it had been rebuffed. It had been looking for a place to live, and hearing that Gondorlah had no pet parrot, it had flown to Tiku Pariaman hoping to live with Gondorlah and eat her scraps. But Gondorlah was inhospitable: so far from offering the parrot food and drink, she had sent the bird away, and it had flown weeping from Pariaman.

The parrot asked Munjonun its name, and who its master and mistress were. Munjonun answered untruthfully that it had no master or mistress and did not live in an *anjueng*. It came from Gunueng Érak Gémbang. Its name was Munjonun and it was the second-eldest of three siblings. Its elder sister, Sumbangan,⁸² had descended to earth and become the pet of a prince and princess. The youngest of the three, Sumboyan, had been learning to fly one day, when a storm had come down and swept it away, and it was now lost without a trace. Munjonun, alone and sad, had flown to many forests and mountains looking for Sumboyan. Now it wanted to go to Tiku Pariaman and search there: in which direction was it? The other

parrot expressed sympathy with Munjonun in its loss, and said that Tiku Pariaman lay in the direction of the setting sun and the flash of lightning. It warned Munjonun not to stray to Gondorlah's compound, for she might kill Munjonun with her blowpipe.

Munjonun enquired if Gondorlah's compound had any distinguishing marks, so that it could avoid flying there by accident. The parrot replied that in the middle of the court-yard there grew a tall *mansiro*⁸³ tree which could be seen from far off. Gondorlah's house was in three parts: on one side a flat verandah, on the other a house in the 'sitting elephant' style, and in the middle a 12-roomed family house with a lofty *anjueng*, eaves like the flight of a bee, and gables like a hanging fish-net.⁸⁴ Munjonun thanked the parrot and took its leave, then soared up and flew swiftly towards Tiku Pariaman. After flying for half a day, the bird reached Pariaman. It saw the *mansiro* tree, swooped down and perched on it. To signal its arrival, the bird beat its wings and hammered with its bill, making a sound like *bénsi* and *calémpong*. Hearing the sound the geese honked and the cock crew in Gondorlah's court-yard.

Gondorlah was sitting in the *anjueng* twisting the rings on her fingers when she heard the geese honk. She told Kombang Malang to go outside and see if a prince had arrived, or if a hawk had swooped. Kombang Malang hurried outside and looked about, but could see no one nor any hawk. She ran to the end of the yard by the *mansiro* tree. Seeing Kombang Malang below, Munjonun beat its wings and hammered with its beak, and she looked up and saw the bird. She exclaimed to herself: "No wonder the geese honked; few parrots are as beautiful as this!" Kombang Malang ran back into the house and told Gondorlah that she had seen a parrot of unequalled beauty, perhaps from heaven, fit to be the darling of an *anjueng* and to heal a grieving heart. Gondorlah said that if the bird was beautiful enough for a pet, they would shoot it down with a blow-pipe and then put balm on the wound.

Kombang Malang brought the blowpipe and darts and prepared the cotton wads, and they hastened to the end of the court-yard. Gondorlah looked at the parrot and their eyes met. Gondorlah put a dart in the blowpipe and took aim. Munjonun pretended not to notice. When both mind and eye were on the target, Gondorlah blew and the dart shot out. The parrot dodged it, dived and caught the cotton in its beak, then perched lower down the tree. Gondorlah exclaimed at the bird's prowess,

then loaded, aimed and shot again; but again the bird avoided the dart, seized the cotton and perched three branches further down. Gondorlah tore her hair and cursed the parrot for making her agitated. She told Kombang Malang that the third dart was poisoned, and that even a scratch would kill the parrot. Gondorlah aimed and blew again, but Munjonun caught the butt of the dart in its beak, flew off and dropped it in the garden. Gondorlah beat her breast in fury, and hurled the blowpipe to the ground, breaking it in two. Then, tempted by a devil, she sent Kombang Malang to fetch a fine silken net, saying that if they caught the parrot they would stab it and cut off its head. Gondorlah took the net and quietly approached the flower-garden, where Munjonun was. She arranged the net in her hand and flung it, but the bird flew off. So far from being caught, it tangled the net, and Gondorlah was even more furious.

The parrot perched on the window-sill of the *anjung* and spoke to Gondorlah. It said that it wanted to live in Gondorlah's *anjung* as her pet, but Gondorlah had three times tried to kill it with her blowpipe. Gondorlah replied that she had shot at the bird, not out of anger, but because she wanted it for a pet: she had intended to shoot it down and then heal its wound. How lucky it was that the parrot wanted to live there! Gondorlah then entered the house and invited the parrot to come into the main room, and it flew down and alighted in front of her. She tried to seize the bird, but it eluded her.

At Gondorlah's bidding, Kombang Malang brought a pitcher of perfumed water, which she sprinkled on Munjonun, and a saucerful of rice, which she fed to it on a Chinese needle. When the parrot had taken food and drink, Gondorlah asked what its name was, and it answered that its name was Sumbangan. Gondorlah asked where it lived and who its mistress was. The parrot replied that it had no mistress, and that its home was on Gungeng Erak Gembang. The bird explained that it was one of three siblings. Its elder sister, Munjonun, had descended to earth and become the pet of a princess, and the youngest, Sumboyan, had disappeared completely, perhaps seized by a hawk or an eagle. Rather than remain alone and sad on the mountain, the parrot had decided to look for a place to live on earth. It had visited the *anjung* of all the princesses, but each of them already had a pet parrot. It had flown out to sea and

visited the ships of all the princes, but each of them already had a bird. Then it had heard that Gondorlah lacked a pet parrot, and so it had flown to her house. It asked her to be kind and receive it as her pet.

Gondorlah said that she was sad to hear of the parrot's sufferings, and that it could live in her *anjueng* if it wanted to. She asked if, when the parrot flew out to sea, it had encountered her fiancé's ship. When she sailed away, he had promised to come back in seven months, but three years had passed and he had not yet returned. The parrot asked what were the distinguishing marks of her fiancé's ship, and what the captain's name was. Gondorlah answered that there was a striped flag on one side, a green banner on the other, and a yellow ship in between, and that it had seven sails. Its captain was Anggun Nan Tungga, a ruler of Tiku Pariaman. The ship had 300 men on board and was in the charge of Abang Salamat. Had the parrot seen it?

The parrot was silent and thoughtful, and Gondorlah asked why. The bird replied that it was difficult for it to speak about Anggun Nan Tungga and his ship. If it told the truth, Gondorlah would suffer. On the other hand, it was not accustomed to lying. What should it do? Gondorlah asked it to tell her the truth.

Munjonun said that it had seen a ship with seven sails lying at anchor off Tanau. It was rotten, and listing heavily, empty of men but haunted by sea-spirits. Anggun Nan Tungga had become a ruler of Sitombue Bondue Ruhun, and had realised his intention with Dandomi Sutan, with whom he was deeply in love. She had borne him a son, Mandugombak, who stuck close to Nan Tungga and looked just like him. Abang Salamat was a guard in Dandomi's household, and the 300 followers swept her court-yard and tended her ducks and geese.

Gondorlah wept, and said it was fortunate that the parrot had flown to Tiku. Otherwise, she would not have known of Nan Tungga's marriage. She had not expected him to break his promise not to pluck flowers while he was abroad. He had broken his vow, but she had waited for him. Now she would follow her destiny, wherever it might lead. She would climb Gunueng Lédang, so that Mandugombak might see, and Nan Tungga be satisfied. Fate called her to the mountain; there the jungle would be her compound, and a rocky cave her *anjueng*. The parrot warned Gondorlah

not to obey her emotions, or she would suffer for it. She was at the age to enjoy herself, but if she went up the mountain her delicate skin would become rough, and her long hair tangled; sharp grasses would brush her calves and shoulders, and vines whip her face. If Nan Tungga had broken faith, she should seek another to put her trust in, for there were many to choose from.

Gondorlah replied that what the parrot said might be true. However, according to the oath which she and Nan Tungga had sworn, if he broke his word she would retire to the top of Gunueng Lédang. She asked the parrot to fly to Dandomi Sutan's house in Ruhun, taking the ring with which she and Nan Tungga had made their vow. In one of its two jewels Nan Tungga's likeness could be seen, in the other Gondorlah's. She asked the bird to show Dandomi this mark of her and Nan Tungga's love, so that Dandomi should suffer. The parrot should also tell Nan Tungga that Gondorlah was living in the forest with a cave for her *anjung*, and that her hair was tangled and her clothes torn. The parrot agreed to do as Gondorlah asked, provided that she did not go up the mountain. Gondorlah tied the ring to Munjonun's right wing with seven of her hairs and some silk thread. Then the parrot took its leave of Gondorlah and flew outside. Watched by her and Kombang Malang, it rose in the air until it seemed the size of a beetle, then soared up again until it looked as small as a spinach seed.

In Ruhun Anggun Nan Tungga sat silent and pensive. When Dandomi Sutan asked what he was thinking about, he answered that for three days he had been disgruntled because the parrot had tricked him. Now it was far away and might not come back. Dandomi said that he had been stupid to set the bird free, and that she would not let him return to Tiku until the bird came back. Then an idea occurred to Nan Tungga, and he told Dandomi to bring fire and incense to the court-yard. There he lit the incense and prayed to Allah, Muhammad and his *guru* Tuanku Soru Alam, to send down the seven winds to seek out Munjonun and whirl it back to Dandomi's house. Nan Tungga sat and concentrated his mind silently. Made aware of this by a twitch in his big toe, Tuanku Soru Alam saw by means of his *galah salapan* that Nan Tungga was calling the winds. The storm-winds descended, whinnying and bellowing, from north, south, east and west, so strong that they ripped the weeds from the court-yard and tore corpses from their graves. The winds followed the parrot to Tiku

Pariaman and found it high over Gondorlah's *anjueng*. The bird was not flying to Ruhun, because it had promised Dandomi not to return for a year, but the winds whirled it to Ruhun and flung it into Dandomi's house. Dandomi picked the bird up, noticed the ring bound to its wing, and untied it. When she turned the ring to the right, she saw a likeness of Anggun Nan Tungga. Then she turned it to the left, and saw the image of Gondorlah. Anggun Nan Tungga's betrothal to Gondorlah stood revealed.⁸⁵

Anggun Nan Tungga came into the house and told Dandomi Sutan that the winds had brought the parrot back. Dandomi told him that the bird had carried a ring bearing images of himself and Gondorlah, and that his secret in Tiku had been disclosed. No wonder he had wanted to go home: he had been longing to see his betrothed, Gondorlah. If it had not been for the parrot, Dandomi said, she would never have known. Anggun Nan Tungga replied that although he was engaged to Gondorlah, it was not because he loved her, but because the elders had required it, since Gondorlah was a princess in Pariaman and he a prince. If he had really wanted to marry Gondorlah, he would not have left home and sailed away.

Dandomi Sutan told Nan Tungga to question Munjonun about the ring, while she listened. Nan Tungga reproached the bird for deceiving him by asking to be set free for a short while, but only returning after three days, and asked who had given it the ring. The parrot explained that it had left the *anjueng* intending to fly to Gunueng Érak Gémbang, but had been whirled away by a sudden storm and thrown down unconscious on the summit of Gunueng Lédang. It had heard a moaning sound and seen the mouth of a cave, with a cubit's length of hair hanging out. Gondorlah, a princess of Tiku Pariaman, had been in the cave. Her hair was tangled, and her delicate skin had become rough. She had given the ring to the parrot, and then the storm had carried it back to Ruhun. Both Nan Tungga and Dandomi believed the parrot's story.

Nan Tungga said that if Dandomi would let him return to Tiku Pariaman, he would spend no more than two weeks there, and as soon as the people of Tiku had replaced him with another ruler, he would sail back to Ruhun. Dandomi answered that, as the missing parrot had come back, she would let Nan Tungga go with a good grace, taking the bird with him. However, before he departed she would take off her bracelet and ring to make a new cage, lest she be censured in Pariaman. When Dandomi asked

who would make the cage, Nan Tungga suggested that the twenty craftsmen on his ship should, and with her consent he went to the shore to summon them. Seeing the ship anchored off Tanau, he was unable to restrain himself and waved his handkerchief.

Abang Salamat, who was in the *pangipak*, saw someone who looked exactly like Anggun Nan Tungga waving a handkerchief from the shore. He told the *malin* and the 300 followers, and said that they would sail to Ruhun at once. Abang Salamat unfurled the sails, the oars were plied, the mast-head nodded and the ship sped towards the coast. Having anchored near the beach, Salamat went ashore and humbly greeted Anggun Nan Tungga. Salamat asked why Nan Tungga had been away for three years, although when he had gone ashore at Tanau to fetch the parrot, he had said that he would not be long. Nan Tungga explained that Santan Batapih had turned out not to have a parrot. Hoping to fulfil Gondorih's request, he had gone with Santan to Ruhun, to the house of Dandomi Sutan, the daughter of his uncle Monggueng Kayo. But Dandomi's parrot had not been for sale, its purpose had been to find her a husband. He had married Dandomi, and after three years she had borne him a son, Mandugombak. His aim in marrying Dandomi and spending so long in Ruhun had been to secure the parrot, and thus fulfil his promise to Gondorih. Now they would sail home to Tikou, but Dandomi had insisted that first the bird's cage should be replaced. Nan Tungga told Abang Salamat to summon the twenty craftsmen.

Abang Salamat went aboard again and told the 20 craftsmen to get their tools ready and come ashore to make a parrot's cage. They obeyed and followed Nan Tungga to Dandomi's house. As they entered the courtyard, the geese honked and the doves flew up. Kombang Malang came out with a golden betel-box to meet Abang Salamat, and from the window Dandomi Sutan invited him to come in. They all went into the house and sat down, and cigarettes and betel were passed back and forth. When they had eaten and drunk, Dandomi gave the craftsmen a bracelet and a ring and asked them to make a cage for the parrot.

The lamps were lit, and the craftsmen worked all night. By morning they had made a golden cage with a cord of gold thread, encircled with yellow silk and fitted with a fringed umbrella. The parrot left its silver cage and moved into the gold one. At dawn the craftsmen went to the bathing-place with Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat and

performed their morning prayers. Then they returned to the house, and ate and drank.

Anggun Nan Tungga asked Dandomi Sutan, now that the new cage was complete, to give him leave to sail for Tiku Pariaman. Dandomi told him not to be so hasty. Let the 20 craftsmen return to the ship first, then she and her attendants would accompany Nan Tungga to the shore. Nan Tungga agreed, and asked Salamat and the craftsmen to go aboard first, taking the parrot with them. They took their leave of Dandomi, and as they left the parrot and Dandomi exchanged farewells.

MANDUGOMBAK

Dandomi Sutan told Nan Tungga that it was not parting with him which grieved her, but the fact that he was abandoning Mandugombak, who clung to him and wept if he went so much as a step away. It distressed her to think that, when Nan Tungga had gone, the child would treat some stranger as his father. However, she could not prevent him from going, and it was right that after three years he should miss his home and parents. But she would not let him go until midnight, when Mandugombak would be asleep; otherwise the child would cry. Nan Tungga agreed to wait.

Night fell and the lamps were lit. Usually, when evening came, Mandugombak would be carried on his mother's hip, but that night he refused to go to her, and instead clung to Nan Tungga, wanting his father to carry him. But even when carried he wept. The night wore on, but still Mandugombak whined and refused to go to sleep. Nan Tungga sang to him as he carried him up and down: "Mandugombak my darling, the night is far gone, sleep, sleep my child." Mandugombak went to sleep in his father's arms, and Nan Tungga laid him on a mattress in the *anjueng*. But as soon as Nan Tungga moved away, Mandugombak woke up. He reached out to right and left, and realising that his father was not there, began crying again. Nan Tungga hurried to pick him up. Again he sang Mandugombak to sleep and laid him on the mattress, but this time he had an idea, and put a cushion on either side of the sleeping child, then silently came down from the *anjueng*.

Nan Tungga asked Dandomi's permission to leave, as it was now midnight and Mandugombak was fast asleep between two cushions. Dandomi

asked him where he had sold his wits. If he, a prince of Pariaman, went out in the middle of the night, the time when thieves go about, the people and elders of Ruhun would look askance at him. She would not let him go until the morning, when she and her maids would escort him to the shore. Nan Tungga agreed, and they spent the rest of the night talking. Nan Tungga was heavy-hearted at the prospect of leaving Dandomi and his child.

The magpie-robin twittered as a sign that morning had come. Mandugombak woke up and cried, and Nan Tungga fetched him down from the *anjueng*. Then he and Dandomi took Mandugombak to the bathing-place, performed their prayers, and returned to the house, where they ate and drank. After the meal Mandugombak clung to Nan Tungga and refused to part from him. Telling Nan Tungga not to be downcast, for they must do what was right, Dandomi said that she and her maids would now accompany him to the shore. Nan Tungga mournfully bade farewell to Dandomi's house; then, with Mandugombak in his arms, he walked to the shore escorted by the sorrowing Dandomi and Kombang Malang and the weeping maids. When they reached the shore and saw the ship waiting, Nan Tungga took leave of Dandomi, telling her not to be sad. Dandomi tried to take Mandugombak from Nan Tungga's arms, but the child clung to him tightly; then Dandomi pulled him away and he screamed. Nan Tungga went aboard, while Dandomi, Mandugombak and the maids all wept. Then Nan Tungga thought of something to comfort the child. He had a mat of gold thread with a silk fringe, woven by *jín*. He rolled the mat up and threw it to the shore, telling Mandugombak that if he ever went to Tiku to look for his father, he should travel on the mat. Then Abang Salamat pulled the oars, and the ship moved away, as Dandomi wept and Mandugombak wriggled in her arms, calling to his father not to leave him behind. The ship sped away, while Dandomi Sutan and Kombang Malang walked home, carrying Mandugombak and sobbing.

TO TIKU

When the ship was off Tanau, Anggun Nan Tungga told Abang Salamat to heave to for a while, go ashore and fetch Patieh Maudun from his mosque, because he wished to take leave of his uncle. Abang Salamat rowed ashore and hastened to the mosque, where Malin Mudo directed him to Maudun's room. Salamat invited Maudun to come with him to the ship,

because Nan Tungga had something to tell him. Maudun agreed, explained to his pupils where he was going, and walked to the shore with Abang Salamat. Maudun was about to get into his own boat, when Salamat told him to come in his, and said that if Maudun returned, he would row him back. Salamat then rowed Maudun to the ship.

On meeting Nan Tungga, Patieh Maudun said that Salamat had hurried to the mosque, and he had hurried to the ship; what did Nan Tungga want to tell him? Nan Tungga said that his purpose in leaving home had been to seek his lost uncles. Having found Patieh Maudun, he would like to take him home to Pariaman, but what did Maudun think about it? Patieh Maudun replied that he shared Nan Tungga's wishes. However, as ruler of Tanau, he could not return to Tiku Pariaman until the matter had been discussed and another prince had replaced him. He suggested that Nan Tungga should go home first, while these complexities were being disentangled; then in a week's time he would follow Nan Tungga to Tiku Pariaman. Anggun Nan Tungga agreed, but said that, since he would arrive in Tiku first, he would like to take with him a picture of Patieh Maudun, to convince the elders of Tiku Pariaman that his uncle was indeed alive. Maudun consented to draw a picture of himself. Taking pen and ink, he stood before a mirror in Nan Tungga's cabin and tried to draw his own likeness on Chinese paper.

Meanwhile, in the *pangipak*, the *malin* prayed for the seven winds to blow the ship to Pariaman. His prayer was answered, and the storm-winds came down, neighing and bellowing, and whirled the ship with indescribable speed to Pariaman. Patieh Maudun had been tricked by soft words, and through the effective prayer of the *malin* the vessel had reached Tiku Pariaman. It arrived at midnight and stopped at the anchorage from which it had originally sailed.

When told that the ship had arrived, Anggun Nan Tungga ordered Abang Salamat to wake up the 300 followers and tell them to play their musical instruments. They would all make merry, to mark their return to Tiku bringing the 120 requests. Abang Salamat called to the 300 to wake up and celebrate the ship's return. They awoke in great confusion and the helmsman asked why Abang Salamat had roused them: were they about to do battle, or was there a quarrel on board? If there was a branch across the way, they would cut it in three; if a twig, they would break it. Abang Salamat explained that there was no need for anxiety. They had re-

turned to Tiku, and Anggun Nan Tungga had commanded that everyone should celebrate this by making merry, clapping and playing musical instruments. The players of gongs, *calêmpong*, *robab*, violins, *bénsi* and *pupuik* played their instruments, and there was clapping, cheering and rejoicing.

After about an hour, Anggun Nan Tungga ordered that the celebrations should cease, and that Abang Salamat should fire the three ancestral guns and wake up Gondorlah, for she might be hopeful of gain and fearful of loss, and all her 120 requests were there in the ship. Abang Salamat loaded the three guns with Dutch gunpowder and cast shot, lit the slow-matches and asked Anggun Nan Tungga to fire. Nan Tungga, however, directed Salamat to shoot, aiming the oldest gun, Sanieng Gêgo, at Gondorlah's home in Tiku Pariaman; the second, Lélo Munjonun, towards Pasisie, the home of Intan Korong; and the third, Sapu Rantau, towards Ruhun, to tell Mandugombak that they had arrived in Tiku. Abang Salamat took Sanieng Gêgo, performed some *silêk* steps, aimed straight with both mind and eye, and pulled the trigger: there was one explosion, three booms and four echoes. Next Salamat pointed Lélo Munjonun in the direction of Pasisie, and with his inner eye fixed on Intan Korong's house, fired: the detonation sent tremors in all directions. Finally Salamat took Sapu Rantau and aimed it towards Dandomi Sutan's home. When his big toe twitched and his palm throbbled, he discharged the gun and three reverberations resounded.

Abang Salamat asked Nan Tungga what else he should do, but Anggun Nan Tungga answered that, having fired the three guns, they must now wait for Gondorlah to come to the ship in the morning, if she was hopeful of gain and fearful of loss.

TO THE MOUNTAIN

At the sound of the three guns, Gondorlah woke suddenly and sat up in a daze. Recognizing them as Nan Tungga's ancestral guns, she wondered if he had returned and had brought all the things she had asked for. She reflected sadly that Nan Tungga had broken his vow to return in seven months, and sang mournfully to herself: "All the time my young lord was away, my heart was ill at ease, fearing that all would end in shipwreck."

Gondorlah's sorrowful singing woke her mother, Omai Manah, who whispered to Kombang Malang to go and find out if Gondorlah was ill, or if anything else was amiss. Kombang Malang hastened to the *anjung* and asked Gondorlah what had upset her - was she ill, or had her sleeping mat been spread wrongly? Gondorlah told Kombang Malang that she had been woken by the firing of three guns, which she was sure were the ancestral guns, and that she believed that Anggun Nan Tungga had returned from his search for her requests. She had been saddened by the remembrance that Nan Tungga had promised to return in seven months, but that three years had now passed. She asked Kombang Malang to open the window and look towards the promontory, to see if the ship was there. After calculating that it was a propitious day of the month, Kombang Malang opened the window and, using the diamond telescope and Achinese compass, looked towards the promontory, where she saw a ship at anchor. With the telescope she looked inside the vessel and saw that it was full of the things asked for by Gondorlah. She told Gondorlah not to be anxious, for the long ship was anchored off the shore, and on board were all of the 120 rare objects which she had requested.

When morning came, Gondorlah told Kombang Malang to walk about Tiku Pariaman striking the summons-gong. If asked why, she was to say that Nan Tungga had returned. Kombang Malang took the gong and striker, hurried out and walked up and down all over Tiku Pariaman, beating the summons-gong. When people asked her, she answered that Anggun Nan Tungga had returned, and that all the people of Tiku Pariaman should go to the shore to greet his ship. At this everyone - men and women, young and old - came running from upstream and downstream to the water's edge. They stood in a great crowd on the shore, rubbing shoulders, treading on each other's toes, and looking out to sea at the anchored ship with its seven sails furled. Twenty-four of the 25 princesses came to the shore; only Gondorlah was not there.

Kombang Malang asked Gondorlah why she had not gone to the water's edge: three years had passed, and everything she had asked for was in Nan Tungga's ship. Gondorlah replied that of all her requests the one she desired most was the parrot. First let Kombang Malang go to the ship and fetch her the parrot, so that she could see if it could talk. Then she would go down to the shore.

Looking at the crowd gathered on the shore, Abang Salamat expressed

his surprise to Nan Tungga that Gondorlah had not yet appeared. Had she no gratitude for all their efforts? They had sailed the sea of Sikatoro⁸⁶ and made light of difficulties for the sake of obtaining every one of Gondorlah's requests, and now she, alone out of all the people of Tiku, had not come to welcome them. Nan Tungga said he agreed that Gondorlah should have come; however, they would wait a little longer.

In her *anjueng*, Gondorlah told Kombang Malang to change her clothes and go to the ship. If Nan Tungga asked, she was to tell him that Gondorlah was busy changing her clothes, that she had come to take the parrot back to Gondorlah, and that Gondorlah herself would come when she had the bird. Kombang Malang changed and hurried to the sea-shore. Asking the crowd to let her through, she went down to the beach and got into a boat. When Abang Salamat saw a boat approaching, he called to Nan Tungga that a young lady who looked like Gondorlah was coming out to the ship. They waited expectantly, but it turned out to be Kombang Malang. When she came aboard Abang Salamat told her that they were tired of waiting for Gondorlah, and asked where she was. Kombang Malang explained that she was busy changing, and asked to speak to Anggun Nan Tungga.

When Salamat had directed her to Anggun Nan Tungga's cabin, Kombang Malang told Nan Tungga that she had been sent out to the ship. Interrupting her, Nan Tungga said he was very surprised that Gondorlah had not appeared. He and Abang Salamat had returned from voyaging far over the ocean in search of Gondorlah's requests, every one of which had been fulfilled. Now the entire population of Tiku Pariaman had come to the water's edge, except Gondorlah. Where was she? Kombang Malang told Nan Tungga not to blame Gondorlah. The reason why she was late was not that she was unwilling to come to the ship, but that she was still changing her clothes. She had told Kombang Malang to bring the parrot back to her *anjueng* first; after that she would come down to the shore.

Anggun Nan Tungga let Kombang Malang take the parrot, and she rowed back to the shore, made her way through the crowd and walked quickly back towards Gondorlah's house. When she reached the edge of the court-yard, the parrot called out to Gondorlah: "Look out of the window, a bird has come from far away". Gondorlah's heart pounded, and she hurried to the window and saw Kombang Malang and the parrot. When

the bird had been brought inside, Gondorlah asked it what its name was, and it replied that it was called Munjonun. She asked how Nan Tungga had acquired it, and the bird explained that it had originally come from heaven, where it had been the pet of Jorak Manjori,⁸⁷ daughter of Datuek Nago Malintang. One day a whirlwind had dashed its golden cage to the ground, and Munjonun had escaped and been blown from heaven to earth, falling into the sea. A princess of Tanau, named Santan Batapih, had gone out in a boat and caught the bird with a net. She had taken it back to her house, and Munjonun had lived there for years. One day, to test Santan's affection, the parrot had demanded impossible things, such as the sun at midnight and dew at midday. Santan had lost her temper and sold the bird to Dandomi Sutan in Sitombue Bondue Ruhun. Then Anggun Nan Tungga had come to Ruhun, intending to buy the parrot from Dandomi Sutan, but Dandomi had refused to sell it, since for her the bird was a means of finding a husband. Nan Tungga had been so determined to secure the parrot that he had married Dandomi Sutan and lived with her for three years. Dandomi had borne him a son, Mandugombak, who looked just like his father and always stayed close to him. Munjonun said it had not allowed Nan Tungga to take it to Tiku until he had married Dandomi Sutan and become bound to her with ties of love.

The secret of Dandomi was now revealed.⁸⁸ Prompted by a devil, Gondorlah angrily hurled the parrot's cage to the floor; it burst open and the parrot escaped. Gondorlah beat her breast and exclaimed: "Nan Tungga has broken his vow and married Dandomi Sutan. I shall withdraw to the top of Gunueng Lédang, so that Mandugombak may see it, and Nan Tungga be satisfied." In her fury she scattered bracelets and pendants, and cut cushions to pieces. The parrot flew to the ship, where it perched on the mast and urged Nan Tungga to hurry to Gondorlah's house, because she was about to retire to the top of Gunueng Lédang.

TO GUNUENG LÉDANG

Bidding Kombang Malang farewell, Gondorlah bemoaned her lot. Nan Tungga had vowed to return in seven months but had been absent for three years, for a flower had blossomed and he had plucked it for his pleasure. He had broken his oath, and now she would go up the mountain and penetrate the dense jungle. Kombang Malang said it grieved her to part with her mistress: the flower of the house would have gone, and

the bees would no longer alight there. Gondorlah was at the age to enjoy herself - she must not obey her feelings and go to the mountain; for there thorny rattans intertwined, sharp grasses would graze her calves, and her long hair would become tangled. But Gondorlah would not be prevented, and threatened to stab herself if Kombang Malang would not let her go. Kombang Malang replied that she could no more prevent Gondorlah from going than she could stop water flowing downstream, and let her go, though with a heavy heart. As Kombang Malang wept, Gondorlah left the house. Sobbing, she walked to the house of her friend Ranggo Inai, who asked why she was distressed and why she alone had not gone to the shore. Gondorlah said that, although Nan Tungga had brought back all the 120 things she had asked for, he had broken his promise to return in seven months, because he had plucked a flower in a foreign field and married Dandomi Sutan in Ruhun. Now, she said, her destiny summoned her to the top of Gunueng Lédang, where a cave would be her *anjueng* and the jungle her home. Ranggo Inai said she was grieved that Gondorlah, the flower of Pariaman, was going to Gunueng Lédang, where the thorny rattans were interlaced and sharp grasses would brush her calves, and she urged her to go home. If Nan Tungga had been false to his word, let Gondorlah choose another to put her trust in - there were many to choose from. But Gondorlah threatened to stab herself if Ranggo Inai prevented her, so Ranggo Inai let her go, saying that she could no more stop water running downstream.

Gondorlah left Tiku Pariaman behind, crossed a broad paddy field and came to a huge plain, across which she began to walk. In the middle of the plain were two boys herding wild buffaloes. They were playing chess with *rimbang*⁸⁹ when Gondorlah approached them and asked the way to Gunueng Lédang. The buffalo-herds expressed surprise that one so beautiful was not at home, and asked who she was and where she came from. She replied that she came from Tiku Pariaman and was called Gondorlah. Once she had been the flower of Tiku, but now she was the victim of ill fortune, and her destiny called her to Gunueng Lédang. The buffalo-herds said they were sad that one so fair should climb Gunueng Lédang, where the creepers would strike her face and the sharp grasses brush her calves, and they begged her to return to Tiku. Gondorlah refused, saying that her betrothed, Anggun Nan Tungga, had broken his vow, and she could not avoid her destiny. The buffalo-herds told her to go on until she reached the hut of the *pangulu* of Talang, a hunter of wild deer, who

had a black dog with a stammering bark. The *pangulu* would tell her the way to the summit of Gunueng Lédang.

Gondorlah walked on until she saw a hut, far away on the lower slopes of Gunueng Lédang, between the plain and the jungle. When she approached, the *pangulu*'s black dog came out barking and wagging its tail. Hearing it, the *pangulu* sprang out of his hut. He said he was surprised that a princess had strayed to that place, and asked who she was and where her home was. She told him that her home was Tiku Pariaman, and her name was Gondorlah. The *pangulu* said he had heard a rumour that Anggun Nan Tungga had returned. He had expected the people of Tiku to be rejoicing: why then had Gondorlah come here? Gondorlah reminded the *pangulu* that, when Anggun Nan Tungga sailed away, he had promised to return in seven months. Now three years had passed, and the reason was that Nan Tungga had married Dandomi Sutan in Ruhun. Nan Tungga had broken his word, and now her fate called her to Gunueng Lédang. She would climb the mountain, so that Mandugombak should see it, and Nan Tungga be satisfied. She asked the *pangulu* to tell her the way up Gunueng Lédang, so that she should not be swallowed by jungle spirits or confuse upstream with downstream.

Saying that it troubled him deeply that Gondorlah was going to climb Gunueng Lédang, the *pangulu* told her the way. At the foot of Gunueng Lédang, by a shady *potai* tree,⁹⁰ three ways met. One came from the hut, another led downstream to Indojadi, the third was the way to the summit. She should follow it through thick jungle until she reached the well of Maodin, a place full of magic, haunted by demigods. There Gondorlah must break three twigs and drink three mouthfuls of water from the well, otherwise she would be led astray by *aru-aru*.⁹¹ But, said the *pangulu*, if his wish could be granted, she would return to Pariaman. Gondorlah replied that it was now useless to forbid her. Nan Tungga had broken his vow, the ground beneath her feet had collapsed, and the branch she depended on had broken. If the *pangulu* did not let her go, she would stab herself. The *pangulu* answered that he could no more stop water flowing downstream, and sadly gave her leave to depart.

From the *pangulu*'s hut Gondorlah walked on until she came to the foot of Gunueng Lédang and a shady *potai* tree where three ways met. Plucking up her courage and surrendering herself to fate, she took the left-hand path which led to the mountain-top. Gondorlah pushed through

the jungle, sharp grasses grazing her calves and shoulders, and vines lashing her face. Her delicate skin became rough, her long hair dishevelled, and her jacket torn at the shoulder. After going some distance, she came to the well of Maodin, the *guru* of the jungle spirits. Remembering the *pangulu*'s instructions, she broke three twigs and drank three gulps of water from the well to quench her thirst.

Leaving the well, Gondorlah looked up and saw the flat white rock at the summit of Gunueng Lédang. Bemoaning her fate and blaming Nan Tungga for her sufferings, Gondorlah gradually climbed higher, pushing through the forest, until she reached the bottom of the flat white rock. She tried to climb up the rock, treading on small projections and hanging on to rock-grasses, but slipped and fell back even further than she had climbed. She tried again with all her might to climb up, but once more slipped and fell back. Then Gondorlah prayed to Allah and the prophet Muhammad for a strong wind to lift her up to the rock cave. She concentrated her mind completely, and a moment later a whirlwind came, whinnying and bellowing, from heaven and spun Gondorlah up on to the mountain-top. Looking to the right, she saw a cave, but on going up to it she found that its mouth was too narrow for her to enter. Gondorlah prayed earnestly: "O cave in the white rock, open for a moment. I want you to swallow me, so that Nan Tungga will wonder where I am and suffer." Gondorlah's persuasive tongue made the cave open, she jumped inside, and the cave-mouth closed again, leaving a cubit of her hair hanging out as a sign for Nan Tungga. Gondorlah had withdrawn to the mountain, with a rock cave for her *anjueng* and ferns for her mattress.

Anggun Nan Tungga's ship lay at anchor off Tiku, and all the people were at the water's edge to greet him. After flying back from Gondorlah's *anjueng*, the parrot alighted on the mast and then perched inside the ship. It told Nan Tungga that Gondorlah was going up Gunueng Lédang, and urged him to prevent her if he could. Nan Tungga asked the parrot how it had got free. The bird answered that, when Kombang Malang took it to Gondorlah's house, Gondorlah had questioned it about its past, and it had spoken the truth. When it told Gondorlah about Dandomi, she had lost her temper and smashed the cage against the floor, and the bird had escaped. Gondorlah had cut cushions to pieces and scattered bracelets and ear-rings about the house, and was now probably on her way to Gunueng Lédang.

Anggun Nan Tungga commented that Gondorlah had sold her wits and bought stupidity, then he told Abang Salamat to wait in the ship while he went to Gondorlah's house. If she had gone, he would seek her till he found her, so long as he had the breath of a fish or the life of a dragonfly. Abang Salamat urged Nan Tungga to follow Gondorlah to the top of Gunueng Lédang if necessary, and not to return without her.

Nan Tungga rowed to the shore and asked the crowd to let him pass, as he must hasten to the *anjueng*. At Gondorlah's house he found jewellery strewn about and everyone in a hubbub. When Kombang Malang rushed in, he asked her why Gondorlah alone had not come to the shore. He had sailed far, making light of difficulties, and fulfilled every one of her requests, and this was how she repaid him! Where was she? Kombang Malang replied that Gondorlah had gone to Gunueng Lédang in accordance with her oath, and begged Nan Tungga to go and seek her without delay. Nan Tungga took a spool made of Chinese bamboo, containing a set of Gondorlah's clothes, as a sign that he would seek her until he found her.

When he had left Tiku Pariaman, Nan Tungga came to the middle of a great plain, where he saw two buffalo-herds playing chess with *rimbang*. They ran to meet Anggun Tungga, and he asked them if Gondorlah had passed that way. They replied that she had just gone, and was making for the summit of Gunueng Lédang, in spite of their efforts to dissuade her. They urged Nan Tungga to hurry after her.

Anggun Nan Tungga left the buffalo-herds and, after walking some distance further, reached the hut of the *pangulu* of Talang. When the *pangulu*'s dog saw Nan Tungga, it gave its stammering bark, and the *pangulu* leapt out of his hut. Nan Tungga asked if Gondorlah had been that way, and the *pangulu* said that she had. He had tried to stop her, but she had threatened to kill herself so he had let her go, and now she was climbing Gunueng Lédang. He exhorted Nan Tungga to go and look for her.

Taking his leave of the *pangulu*, Anggun Nan Tungga walked on and came to the shady *potai* tree at the meeting of three ways. He took the left-hand path, and plunged into the tall *lalang*⁹² grass and dense jungle. Pushing through the forest, he climbed resolutely upwards until he saw the summit of Gunueng Lédang and the flat white rock. Nan Tungga

tried to scale the steep, smooth rock by treading on little ledges and hanging on to rotten roots, but he fell back further than he progressed. He called out: "Gondorlah, you should not repay my services thus, by entering the dense jungle." But no answer came. Nan Tungga tried three more times to climb up the steep rock, clinging to rotten roots and hanging from rock-grasses, but each time he failed. Then he remembered the teaching of his *guru* in heaven, Tuanku Soru Alam, and he concentrated his mind, shrinking the world on which he stood. He prayed to his *guru* on earth, Odin Tamodin, and to Tuanku Soru Alam, that they would send a violent gale to whirl him up to the mountain-top. Down came seven winds, churning up the forest. They whisked Nan Tungga up on to the rock and dropped him by a singing bamboo.

Nan Tungga called out: "Gondorlah, my darling, where are you hiding? Give me an answer to heal my weariness." But she did not reply. Then Nan Tungga noticed a length of hair protruding from the mouth of a cave. Looking inside, he saw Gondorlah and spoke to her. He said he had never expected her to reward him thus. Having returned from the sea, bringing every one of her 120 requests, he had expected her to be hopeful of gain and fearful of loss, but instead she had gone to the mountain-top. "If you pity me," said Nan Tungga, "come back with me, darling, to Tiku Pariaman." But Gondorlah was silent. When Nan Tungga wept and begged her to answer, Gondorlah replied. Where had he sold his wits and bought stupidity? She reminded him of his love for Dandomi, and told him to sail back to Ruhun where he had left Mandugombak. She refused to be taken back to Tiku, and asked to be left on the mountain, with ferns for her mattress and a cave for her *anjueng*.

In tears, Nan Tungga reminded Gondorlah of their vow, which had been recorded by the *malin* and safeguarded by Abang Salamat. He had kept firmly to his oath. In his search for her 120 requests he had sailed all over the ocean, until only one request - for the parrot - remained unfulfilled. Nan Tungga had heard that his uncle's daughter, Dandomi Sutan, had a parrot. So, not wishing Gondorlah to be disappointed, he had gone to Ruhun and asked to buy the bird at any price. But Dandomi had refused to sell it, for its purpose was to find her a husband. Reluctant to leave Gondorlah's request unfulfilled, Nan Tungga had consented to be sold, for the sake of satisfying her wishes. He had married Dandomi, not out of love, but for fear that Gondorlah's request

would not be obtained. Now let Gondorlah come with him back to Tiku Pariaman. They would hold a tournament and a great feast,⁹³ inviting the distant by letter, and those nearby with a betel-bowl. Gondorlah replied that Nan Tungga was a man of winning words, and that he must not try to persuade her to return. Let him go back, and then sail to Ruhun, for love bound him to Dandomi Sutan.

Anggun Nan Tungga told Gondorlah that his three uncles in the ship were weeping to see her, and that Kombang Malang and the people of Tiku had lamented day and night since she left. Kombang Malang pined for her so much that she was as thin as the handle of a spoon. Nan Tungga begged her, if she pitied the people of Tiku, to return and marry him. Gondorlah answered that, on reflection, Nan Tungga was right. Pride had made her rash. She had yielded to the temptation of a devil, but now she was ready to go back to the beginning of the road. Provided that they fulfilled their wish, she would let Nan Tungga take her back to Tiku. But how was she to escape from the cave?

Nan Tungga replied that he would try to open the cave by magical means. He prayed to his two *guru*, Odin Tamodin and Tuanku Soru Alam, to send thunder, lightning and the seven winds to break open the cave. His prayer was fulfilled, and the seven winds came neighing from heaven, ripping up the jungle. Thunder and lightning crashed in the sky, striking the rock and and shattering it. Nan Tungga offered Gondorlah his right hand and asked her to come back to Tiku at once. Now, however, she refused, saying that he had broken his vow to return in seven months, and that when a flower had bloomed in Ruhun, he had plucked it for pleasure. Let him go back to Tiku, but she would stay and suffer in the forest.

Nan Tungga protested that however hard he pulled at the oar, the island drew further away. If Gondorlah would not go back, let them both live in the forest, and transfer Tiku Pariaman to the jungle. But if she consented to return, the people of Tiku would rejoice. They would invite the distant by letter and those nearby with a betel-bowl, and hold a tournament. The elders and the divines would be assembled, and he and Gondorlah would follow the well-trodden path.⁹⁴ At this Gondorlah's heart softened. She admitted that threats were the root of evil, and helpfulness the beginning of good. Nan Tungga had rescued her, and now they would go back to Pariaman together.

Anggun Nan Tungga and Gondorlah walked down the mountain-side, passed the well of Maodin, and at midday reached the foot of Gunueng Lédang. They stopped to rest under the shady *potai* tree at the meeting of three ways, at a place called the hill of fowlers. Gondorlah complained that she was so hungry, thirsty and tired that she would not reach Pariaman. Nan Tungga said that if he could sail the seas to secure her 120 requests, he could certainly find her some water to drink, and he asked her to wait while he looked for water in the jungle.

While Gondorlah waited, Nan Tungga went through the forest searching for water. After going up four hills and down three dales, he heard the sound of a stream, but he had to go up four more hills and down three more dales before reaching it. He was hot and sweaty, and when he saw the clear water he felt tempted, and decided to bathe. Nan Tungga plunged in, then splashed and swam up and down, exhilarated by the flowing stream. The carp dived this way and that, thinking Nan Tungga's beauty-spots were drifting blossoms.

TO INDOJATI

As Alam Tansudin, ruler of Indojati, sat brooding, he suddenly had a desire to go snaring turtle-doves on the slopes of Gunueng Lédang. He summoned his guard, Sampono Dunie, and told him to bring a set of snares and a decoy dove with a triple coo.⁹⁵ They would go to the hill of fowlers. Sampono Dunie did as he was commanded, and the two of them set forth from Indojati, Alam Tansudin in front and Sampono Dunie carrying the dove and the snares. As they approached the meeting of three ways at the foot of Gunueng Lédang, the dove began to coo. Alam Tansudin stopped in surprise and remarked that it was unusual for a dove to give a triple coo while being carried in its cage. He wondered if there was a wild dove about, but could not see any himself, and told Sampono Dunie to walk ahead and look. If there were wild doves about, they would set the snares. Sampono Dunie walked on, and the dove kept cooing. Then Sampono Dunie saw a princess sitting under the *potai* tree, and his heart thumped. He ran back and told Alam Tansudin that he had seen a lady of rare beauty under the *potai* tree, and wondered if she might be a spirit of the mountain. Alam Tansudin decided that they would go and question her.

When they had walked some way, Tansudin saw the princess. His gaze met Gondorlah's and both their hearts beat faster. Alam Tansudin told Gondorlah that someone as beautiful as she was fit to adorn a public gathering and welcome guests to a feast. Why then was she wandering in the jungle? What was her name, and where was her home? Furthermore, said Tansudin, although she looked like a person of this world, he wondered if she might be a spirit of the jungle. He asked her, if she was a human and a Muslim, to utter the confession of faith. Gondorlah replied that she was a human and a Muslim, not a jungle spirit. She said the confession of faith and the *fatihah*, and Tansudin believed her. She said that her name was Gondorlah, and her home Tikur Pariaman. She had an unlucky destiny, and that was why she was wandering in the forest.

Tansudin said that he was grieved to see Gondorlah suffering in the jungle, and that he pitied her youth and beauty. He invited her to come with him to Indojati, where she could live in an *anjuang* and be looked after by maids. But Gondorlah declined and asked to be left in the jungle. She said that Tansudin was fine white cloth, and she only a scrap of rag. Moreover, if he already had a fiancée, he would turn his back on Gondorlah if she went to Indojati. Tansudin answered that if he had a fiancée, he would not come away to the mountain. If his request were not fulfilled, his world would be overturned. But if Gondorlah came with him, they would hold a great tournament, inviting the distant by letter and those near with a betel-bowl, so that their intention should be realized. Gondorlah told Tansudin not to be too confident, for the owner might come seeking his lost possession, and Tansudin would regret it. But Tansudin told her not to worry about that: one should only weed if something has grown, he said. However, Gondorlah still refused to come. She said that, as a ruler of Indojati, he would lose face before his people if he shared her misfortune. Let him seek another to rely on: there were many to choose from.

Flying into a rage, Alam Tansudin said that Gondorlah left him no room to move. Just as the depth of the sea could not be fathomed, so she would discover the strength of his feelings: he would cut off her head unless she came with him! Gondorlah told Tansudin not to be so short-tempered. She had been trying him out, but he had taken her seriously. She said she would be glad to come: she had hoped for a shoot and got a salad, looked for water and found a spring. Alam Tansudin

said that he had been testing her feelings, and asked her not to take offence. Then he walked back to Indojati with Gondorlah, followed by Sampono Dunie carrying the dove.

When Anggun Nan Tungga had finished bathing, he remembered that Gondorlah was waiting for him, hungry and thirsty. He filled a length of Chinese bamboo with water and set off towards the *potai* tree. After climbing up hills and down valleys, he reached the meeting of three ways. Nan Tungga looked towards the *potai* tree but could not see Gondorlah, so he shouted: "Gondorlah, where are you? Come quickly, I have brought water to heal your thirst." But there was no answer. Nan Tungga ran to and fro weeping and calling Gondorlah. He protested that his toil was unrewarded. When he had come back from the sea with everything she had requested, she had gone to the mountain. He had sought her there and brought her down. When she had complained of thirst, he had toiled to get water, but now she had disappeared.

Nan Tungga pushed through the jungle, the sharp grasses brushing his calves and shoulders, and the vines whipping his face. He kept calling Gondorlah, but she was far away. All the day he wandered through the forest, led astray by *aru-aru* and unable to tell upstream from downstream. Weeks and months passed as the unlucky Anggun Nan Tungga searched through the jungle. Ferns grew on his brow, rushes on his neck and moss on his chest, until he looked like a jungle devil. One night at midnight, in the midst of thunder, lightning and heavy rain, Nan Tungga came to a deep gorge. Looking for a way over, he saw the trunk of a *bayue*⁹⁶ tree, stripped of bark, lying across the gorge like a bridge. Hanging on to his own ears and hair - for there was nothing else to hold on to - Nan Tungga managed to walk across. When morning came, Nan Tungga heard a cock crowing and realised that he was near someone's house. He went towards the sound, and near the edge of the forest saw a house with a high *anjueng*. The owner of the *anjueng*, Andam Bariah, and her mother, Kasah Tabontang, were asleep. Nan Tungga entered the court-yard and sat under the rice-barn to rest, looking like a mountain devil.

Andam Bariah woke up and went to the window. Seeing what resembled a mountain devil under the rice-barn, she trembled inwardly and cried out to her mother to get up and look out of the window. She said that an abominable mountain demon had come out of the jungle. Her com-

pound was a decent one, where custom was observed, but this thing would make it a haunted place. She told her mother to drive it away. Startled, Kasah Tabontang looked out and saw what seemed to be a jungle devil, with moss on its chest and ferns on its brow. Andam Bariah again told her mother to expel this stray mountain devil from her compound, but Kasah Tabontang warned her not to speak rashly, for many a good man looked ugly, and many an evil man had a good appearance. She told Andam Bariah to wait patiently while she went out and asked some questions. Andam Bariah stamped and told her mother to send it away.

Kasah Tabontang hurried to the rice-barn and spoke to Anggun Nan Tungga. She asked him if he was a human and a Muslim, or a mountain devil. Nan Tungga replied that he was a human and a Muslim, and to prove it uttered the confession of faith three times. Convinced, Kasah Tabontang asked him how he had sunk to this miserable condition, where he came from and what his name was. Andam Bariah cried out angrily from the window, telling her mother not to speak to the accursed mountain demon but to drive it away, otherwise it would turn her compound into a haunted place. But Kasah Tabontang warned her not to speak thus, and asked Nan Tungga not to take offence, for Andam was only a young girl. She asked him to wait while she brought him rice and water.

Kasah Tabontang hurried into the house and put rice on a plate and water in a jug. Andam told her she had sold her wits and bought foolishness, to give food and drink to a stray jungle demon; moreover, it would spoil the plate. At this Nan Tungga called to Kasah Tabontang from the yard, not to put the rice on a plate but into a coconut shell.⁹⁷ But Kasah Tabontang brought the rice on a plate and the water in a jug. Nan Tungga ate and drank one or two mouthfuls and his spirits rose. When the rice and water were finished, Kasah Tabontang suggested to Nan Tungga that he should go and bathe at Andam Bariah's bathing-place, taking three kinds of limes from the court-yard. Andam called to her mother from the window that she was stupid to send this jungle devil to her beloved bathing-place, for it would become a haunted spot. Kasah Tabontang warned her not to speak rashly, for many an evil man had a fine appearance, and it was often the good who suffered. If their positions were reversed, Andam would find it hard

to redeem what she had sold.

Thanking Kasah Tabontang for her kindness, Nan Tungga took three limes from the court-yard and walked to Andam Bariah's bathing-place. He plunged in and swam up and down with various strokes. Then he sliced the three limes and used them in turn to clean the ferns from his forehead, the moss from his chest, and the reeds from his neck. His body, now clean and healthy, gave off a miraculous glow, like that of sunset, or like sunlight in the forest - the sign of a prince descended from princes. The radiance shone left and right and into the trees. When Andam Bariah saw it from her *anjueng*, she beat her breast and called to her mother to look: the accursed devil, which Kasah Tabontang had taken for a human being, had set fire to her bathing-place.

Kasah Tabontang ran to the bathing-place. She told Nan Tungga that, cleansed of the ferns and moss, and endowed with this miraculous radiance, he resembled a prince of olden times. However, he was clearly suffering at the hands of fate. She asked him where he came from and what his name was. He replied that his home was Tiku Pariaman, and his name Anggun Nan Tungga. Once he had been gold, but now he was brass filings. Kasah Tabontang invited Nan Tungga to come into the house and partake of betel and cigarettes, but he answered that Andam's compound was a decent place, where custom was observed, and he would spoil it. He would leave now and journey on. Kasah Tabontang asked Nan Tungga not to take Andam's hasty words to heart, for she was young and often spoke without thinking. She asked him to wait while she fetched Andam, so that she could redeem her over-hasty remarks.

Kasah Tabontang hastened back to the house and told Andam Bariah that the brightness was emanating from Nan Tungga's person, showing that he was a prince. She ordered Andam to redeem her hasty words, and go at once and invite Nan Tungga into the house. Andam Bariah answered that the young man had sold his wits and bought foolishness: if he was indeed a prince, why did he look like a jungle devil? Then she hurried to the bathing-place. When Andam Bariah saw Anggun Nan Tungga, their eyes met and sank into each other's hearts. Andam said that she wanted to pay for her rash words, and invited Nan Tungga to

the house to chew betel and smoke a cigarette. He replied that her compound was a decent one, where custom was observed; he would spoil it and turn it into a haunted place. He had better not come in, but leave forthwith. Andam Bariah asked him not to blame her for her remarks. Why had he, who was so handsome, assumed the appearance of a jungle devil? Again she invited him to come in, and he agreed.

With Andam Bariah following him, Nan Tungga walked back to the house, and the maids came out and greeted him with a golden betel-bowl. When Nan Tungga entered the house, he stopped and surveyed the food set out around the central room. Then he sat on a mattress under an umbrella, fanned by attendants on both sides. After they had eaten, Nan Tungga smoked and Andam Bariah chewed betel. Day gave way to dusk, and night fell.

When Anggun Nan Tungga had spent two days at Andam Bariah's house, he noticed a crowd of people walking down the road nearby, each of them carrying a fighting-cock, as though going to the games. Nan Tungga asked them where they were going to fight their cocks. They answered that they were going to Indojati, because the ruler of Indojati, Alam Tansudin, had found a princess named Gondorlah on Gunueng Lédang. They had reached agreement, and as a sign that they were going to carry out their intention, Alam Tansudin was holding a tournament, sending invitations far and wide. When he heard this, Nan Tungga was distressed and made no reply, and the people who had spoken to him asked if they had said anything amiss. Nan Tungga explained that he was silent and brooding because in the past he had gone to every tournament that was held, but now he was a victim of misfortune. He returned to Andam Bariah's house.

Night came, and Andam Bariah, Kasah Tabontang and all the maids went to sleep. Nan Tungga could not sleep, because he had heard that Gondorlah was in Indojati, and he felt that she was nearly in his grasp. Then he had the idea of calling to Abang Salamat in the spirit. He went down into the yard, burnt white incense and prayed to his two *guru*, Odin Tamodin and Tuanku Soru Alam, that they would tell Abang Salamat to come, bringing a horse, a fighting cock and a case of spurs.⁹⁸ As Nan Tungga concentrated his thoughts, shrinking the earth beneath him, a presentiment came to Odin Tamodin and to Tuanku Soru Alam, who felt

his big toe twitch and saw that Nan Tungga was calling him in the spirit. By the power of Tuanku Soru Alam and Odin Tamodin, Abang Salamat woke with a start and sat up feeling ill at ease. He roused the *malin*, told him that he had been awakened suddenly, and asked him to divine the reason. The *malin* consulted the *kutiko limo* and saw that Anggun Nan Tungga was calling. He told Abang Salamat that Nan Tungga was facing difficulties in his search for Gondorlah, and was asking Salamat to bring a black horse and the cock Si Gunani with a case of spurs. That very night Salamat was to go ashore to Conto Pomai's house, take the horse Burocieh Aluh, the cock and the spurs and ride wherever the horse might carry him.

Abang Salamat got into the boat, which seemed to fly to the shore. He hastened to the house of Conto Pomai, Nan Tungga's mother, and called to her from the court-yard. Half-asleep and with a pounding heart, Conto Pomai hurried to open the window, looked out and saw Salamat. He told her how a presentiment had come to him that Nan Tungga was calling him to come with the horse Burocieh Aluh, the cock Ranggonani and a box of spurs. Conto Pomai said that she too had been uneasy that night. She fetched the cock and the spurs, then led the black horse out of its stable and put on its saddle and stirrups and its three bells for going to the games: the first sounding like a gong, the second like a violin, the third like sparrows feasting. The horse took three bounds and disappeared from view: it had gone to the middle of the ocean to be rubbed down by the princes of the *jîn*. When it returned, Conto Pomai told Salamat to ride wherever the horse carried him, for it would seek Gondorlah and Nan Tungga.

Taking the cock and spurs, Salamat mounted the horse. It galloped away, following Nan Tungga's footsteps with the help of Tuanku Soru Alam, going wherever Tungga had gone in his search for Gondorlah. From Tiku Pariaman it galloped to the empty plain, then to the *pangulu*'s hut, and from there through the jungle to the top of Gunueng Lédang. It came down the mountain to the meeting of three ways, and hesitated there. First it traced Gondorlah's footsteps, then followed Anggun Tungga to the stream in the forest. From there it galloped hither and thither through the jungle until it came, in the middle of the night, to Andam Bariah's compound.

Hearing the sound of bells, Nan Tungga looked about him and saw the horse galloping up. Abang Salamat greeted Nan Tungga and told him how the summons had come to him, and how he had ridden through the jungle. He would have sought Anggun Tungga so long as he had the breath of a fish or the life of a dragon-fly. Nan Tungga told Salamat that he had wandered through the forest searching for Gondorlah until moss and ferns had sprouted on his chest and forehead and he resembled a jungle devil. Luckily he had come to Andam Bariah's house in Pulai Bapayueng, and after only two or three days had learned from passers-by that Alam Tansudin, ruler of Indojati, was holding a tournament, for he had obtained a princess named Gondorlah. He had gone fowling on Gunueng Lédang, and had tricked Gondorlah into going with him to Indojati, and now his wish was to be fulfilled. Enraged at hearing this, Anggun Tungga had called Salamat.

After tethering the horse, Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat went into the house, where Andam Bariah and Kasah Tabontang were still asleep, and spent the rest of the night talking quietly. In the morning, when the magpie-robin twittered and the mosque drums were sounded for prayer, Andam Bariah came down from the *anjung*. Seeing Abang Salamat, she asked Nan Tungga in surprise who he was. Nan Tungga explained that he was Abang Salamat, a friend who in the past had often gone to tournaments with him, and now had sought him out.

When a meal had been eaten, and betel had been chewed and cigarettes smoked, Nan Tungga said that he had heard a rumour that the ruler of Indojati was holding a tournament, and asked Andam Bariah why. He said that he and Salamat wished to take part in the games, but they did not know the customs of Indojati, what contests were held and what stakes were laid, and he asked Andam to go to the tournament and find out. Andam Bariah told him that agreement had once been reached between Alam Tansudin and herself, since he was a prince of Indojati, and she a princess of Pulai Bapayueng. But now she had heard that Alam Tansudin had gone bird-snaring to Gunueng Lédang, and had made a strange catch - a princess, whom he had persuaded with soft words to go with him to Indojati. Now he was holding a tournament, and their wish was to be realised. Andam agreed to go to the games, as Nan Tungga had asked, but what worried her was that she lacked clothing fit for wearing to a tournament. Nan Tungga told her not to worry about that, for he had with him a full set of clothes, which

had been woven in olden times and handed down by his ancestors. He requested Andam Bariah, when she arrived at the games, to ask Tansudin's permission to speak to his betrothed. Andam agreed, and taking the clothes which Nan Tungga had kept in the bamboo spool, she went and put them on. The jacket had a delicate pattern which excited restless desire both day and night. Looking at Andam Bariah, Nan Tungga felt disturbed, for he could imagine that Gondorlah was before him.

Andam Bariah left the house and, with Kombang Malang following her, walked along the road to Indojadi, as lissom as wild sugar-cane. Approaching the arena, she could hear the clapping and shouting of the large crowd. When she entered the enclosure, she asked where Alam Tansudin was, and attendants conducted her to his pavilion. Tansudin was startled to see Andam Bariah's clothing, and asked her why she was late in coming to the games. She asked him not to blame her, and explained that it was because she was lacking in everything. Then she asked if she could meet his beloved Gondorlah. He replied that she was in her *anjueng*, and suggested that Andam Bariah should go there, and take betel and talk with Gondorlah.

Accompanied by maids, Andam Bariah left the enclosure and walked to Gondorlah's house. When she entered the court-yard, the geese honked and the doves flew up, signalling the arrival of a princess. She went into the house, and a maid went to fetch Gondorlah from the *anjueng*. When Gondorlah came down into the house, her eyes met Andam Bariah's and her heart was troubled and uneasy at the sight of Andam's clothes. After they had chewed betel, Gondorlah asked Andam her name. She answered that she was Andam Bariah of Pulai Bapayueng. Gondorlah remarked that Andam's clothes were like those worn in the olden days, and asked where she had bought or borrowed them. Andam replied that she had not bought or borrowed her clothes, they were an heirloom handed down by her ancestors; and she added that Gondorlah's questions were very strange. Gondorlah said that Andam's clothes looked exactly like her own, which had been stored in a chest long ago. Andam answered that it would be better not to prolong the conversation, and took her leave of Gondorlah, asking her not to take to heart any rash words that might have been spoken.

Andam Bariah left the house hurriedly, and with troubled thoughts walked back to Pulai Bapayueng, followed by Kombang Malang. Hurriedly

she went into the house and sat down. Before she had finished resting, Anggun Nan Tungga asked her why she looked distressed. Andam replied that she had met and talked with Gondorlah, who had asked her where her clothes came from, and had said that they were her own. Andam Bariah said that she had been so angry at Gondorlah's questions that she had not looked to see what bets were being laid at the games, and she asked Nan Tungga to explain where the clothes came from. Nan Tungga told her not to be agitated. The clothes were a family heirloom, which he carried about in the spool for his own pleasure. As for Gondorlah's remarks, many patterns looked alike, and Andam Bariah must not take the matter to heart. He said that he and Abang Salamat would now go to the tournament, and Andam Bariah gave them leave to depart.

TO THE TOURNAMENT OF ALAM TANSUDIN

They mounted the black horse Burocieh Aluh, Salamat sitting behind Nan Tungga and carrying the cock and spurs, and the horse galloped down the road to Indojadi, its three bells making a melancholy sound. As Nan Tungga and Salamat approached the enclosure, they could hear clapping and shouting, and when they reached the gate they saw a large crowd, with banners like a plantation of bananas and umbrellas sprouting like mushrooms. Everyone was amazed at the sight of Nan Tungga and said: "Where does this prince come from? Few princes are so handsome, and few princesses are fit to be his bride." Nan Tungga asked the officials which prince was holding the tournament. They told him that it was Alam Tansudin, and took him to Tansudin's pavilion, where Nan Tungga greeted all the *pangulu* and Alam Tansudin. When they had smoked a cigarette, Tansudin said that invitations had been sent far and wide by letter and by ship. Was Nan Tungga's home far away, that he had arrived after all the other princes? Nan Tungga replied that he lived far across the sea, and that there had been no ship for him to sail on. But he had set out, although late, because he was determined to take part. Tansudin said he was glad Nan Tungga wished to take part: he had hoped for a shoot and got a salad, dug a well and found a spring. He invited Nan Tungga, since they were of equal status, to play chess against him.

They played chess, and by good fortune Nan Tungga won and took the winnings. Then Alam Tansudin challenged him to a cock-fight, and the stakes were set at 500.⁹⁹ Abang Salamat objected that 500 would not even

cover the cost of the cock's string, and although Nan Tungga told him not to listen to Salamat, Tansudin raised the bet to 2,000. The cocks fought, Nan Tungga's won, and the stakes went to him. Then they competed in riding, and in shooting with gun and blow-pipe, and each time Anggun Tungga won and took the stakes. Finally they competed in kicking the wicker ball. Angrily, Alam Tansudin wagered all his gold, silver and possessions. They ran to and fro, kicking with left foot and right, until the ball slipped from Tansudin's foot and he fell over. The crowd shouted that Tansudin had lost, but he would not pay Nan Tungga what he owed. Nan Tungga asked what kind of customs Tansudin observed, that he refused to pay his debts, but Tansudin only answered that he was the ruler of Indojati and would not pay. Nan Tungga declared that he was Anggun Nan Tungga, prince of Tiku Pariaman, and that he had set out from home to seek that which was lost. He said that Tansudin had a pet dove which had once been his, and that he would not rest until the bird was in his hands again. Otherwise, bran would await him in a coconut-shell, when he returned home.¹⁰⁰ If Tansudin would not pay, let them practise their *silêk* steps, and at the same time take some exercise. They would thus, as the saying went, 'warm themselves while the rice cooked'.

Nan Tungga and Alam Tansudin began to fight, exchanging blows and throwing each other about. Each was as skilful as the other, for both had learned from the same teacher. In the sky, Tuanku Soru Alam perceived in the spirit that Nan Tungga and Alam Tansudin, his two pupils on earth, were fighting each other and could not be separated by the crowd. With a crash of thunder, Tuanku Soru Alam descended with the seven winds, stood in the middle of the arena, and admonished Anggun Tungga and Alam Tansudin. Where had they sold their wits and bought stupidity, that they, two princes, should quarrel over a girl? How could they serve as bright torches to guide their people? As pupils of one teacher, they ought to agree, not fight each other. He asked Anggun Nan Tungga to explain the origin of their quarrel.

Nan Tungga recounted how he had set forth from Tiku Pariaman in search of his uncles and 120 rare objects requested by Gondorlah. He had obtained 119 of them, including a pot which cooked without fire, a betel-bowl which circulated of its own accord, 14 black men and 16 white men, and a little knife with a palm-blossom handle. Only a parrot had re-

mained to be found, and because there was a parrot in Ruhun, Nan Tungga had sought it there. But the parrot's owner, Dandomi Sutan, had refused to sell it, for its purpose was to find her a husband, and finally Nan Tungga had had to pawn himself to obtain the bird. Unwilling to leave Gondorlah's request unfulfilled, he had married Dandomi and lived for three years in Ruhun. Coming back to Tiku Pariaman with his ship full of Gondorlah's requests, Nan Tungga had found that she had retired to Gunueng Lédang. He had followed her through the jungle, found her in a cave, and persuaded her to return. At the foot of the mountain Gondorlah had complained of thirst, and he had gone into the jungle to find water, while she waited under a *potai* tree. In Nan Tungga's absence, Alam Tansudin had tricked Gondorlah and even threatened her with his sword, so that she went to Indojati with him. Nan Tungga had spent months searching the forest for Gondorlah. Moss had grown on his chest, and ferns on his brow. Then he had come to Andam Bariah's house, and had heard that the prince of Indojati was holding a tournament. Nan Tungga had competed against Tansudin in all the games and had defeated him, but Tansudin had refused to pay his debts, and they had begun to fight.

Tuanku Soru Alam told Tansudin that, as Nan Tungga's fellow-pupil, he should not fight him, and that, being a prince of Indojati, he ought to be to his people a bright torch, a compass and a shade-giving tree. Those who went astray, he said, should go back to the beginning of the road. Tansudin must restore Gondorlah to Anggun Tungga. He should then go with them in procession to Tiku Pariaman and hold a tournament there, and Nan Tungga and Gondorlah would carry out their intent. He ordered Tansudin to clasp Nan Tungga's hand. Tansudin agreed to withdraw his rash words and deeds, and took Nan Tungga's hand. With a clap of thunder, Tuanku Soru Alam disappeared from view, ascending into the heavens.

Alam Tansudin then ordered the *pangulu* and people of Indojati to close the tournament. They would proceed to Tiku Pariaman and hold another tournament there. Everybody left the enclosure and set out for Tiku. Gondorlah was brought from her *anjueng*, and agreed to return to Tiku. Cheering and clapping, they all walked along, first to the *potai* tree at the foot of Gunueng Lédang, then to the *pangulu* of Talang's hut. After that they passed through the empty plain, and finally caught sight of Tiku Pariaman.

The people of Tiku, who were waiting on the sea-shore in a large crowd, saw the approaching throng and went to welcome them. The drum was sounded in the council-hall, and everyone - young and old, men and women - came from upstream and downstream to the council-hall. Nan Tungga spoke to the people, and agreement was reached among the elders that a tournament should be held in Tiku, for Anggun Nan Tungga and Gondorlah were going to carry out their wish. The distant were invited by letter, and those nearby with a betel-bowl. Alam Tansudin was master of the games, a great crowd filled the enclosure, and all kinds of contests took place. Meanwhile Gondorlah sat in her *anjueng*, and maids fanned her from left and right.

When the games had been in progress for a week, Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat happened to walk past the place where the children were holding their contests. Seeing a child of the same age as Mandugombak, Nan Tungga sat and brooded. When Salamat enquired what was wrong, Nan Tungga replied that he had seen a child, and had thought to himself that Mandugombak must be that age by now. He pictured himself in Ruhun, and wished he could embrace his son. Nan Tungga suggested that he try to send a message to Mandugombak by a peal of thunder, Salamat agreed, and they went to the end of the promontory when the sun was about to set. Gazing out to sea, Nan Tungga imagined himself holding Mandugombak. He wept and prayed to Allah to send a message to his son: "If you miss your father, come to Pariaman. When I left Ruhun, I gave you a silk-fringed mat woven by the prince of the *jin*. Throw the mat on to the waves, and the sea-spirits will bring you to Tiku." Nan Tungga concentrated his thoughts, and the thunder crashed and rolled towards Dandomi's house.

In Ruhun the thunder pealed over Dandomi's *anjueng*. Mandugombak cried out and wept for no clear reason. Dandomi asked him why his behaviour had for some time been moody and strange; if he was ill, she would seek a *dukun* or collect remedies. Mandugombak answered that he had just heard a thunder-clap which had made his spirit tremble within him. Apart from that he was troubled in mind because, whereas all the other princesses of Ruhun went to the games with their husbands, Dandomi went alone; moreover, his playmates humiliated him by asking who his father was. Dandomi Sutan told Mandugombak that his father was Anggun Nan Tungga, a prince of Tiku Pariaman, and descended on both sides from princely stock. Nan Tungga had gone back to Tiku, saying that he must

ensure that someone took his place as ruler, and that as soon as he had been replaced, he would return to Ruhun. He had promised to come back in two weeks, but she had waited for years, and still he had not returned. Mandugombak said that he wished to see his father, and asked Dandomi to let him go to Pariaman. Dandomi replied that she was reluctant to let him go, for she would be left alone and Tiku Pariaman was far away. However, if Mandugombak went to Tiku, his father had given instructions that he should travel there by means of a mat with silken fringes.

Dandomi went and told her father, Monggueng Kayo, that Mandugombak wanted to go to Tiku, and that Nan Tungga had instructed him to travel on the silk-fringed mat. Monggueng Kayo said that it would be best to obey Nan Tungga's directions, and gave his leave for Mandugombak to go. He divined that the following morning would be a propitious time to sail. In the morning, after a meal, Monggueng Kayo, Dandomi and all the *pangulu* accompanied Mandugombak to the promontory. Dandomi bade him farewell, but would only let him go on condition that he returned to Ruhun after two weeks. Then the mat was cast on to the waves, Mandugombak leapt on to it, and the spirits of the ocean bore it out to sea, while Dandomi and the others went home weeping.

Rolled along by *jîn*, the mat sailed so rapidly that islands approached as if beckoned. Night came, and Mandugombak sailed on, determined to find his father. In the middle of the night, by the providence of Allah, the mat was cast ashore on a promontory, not that of Tiku Pariaman. Climbing up on to the promontory, Mandugombak walked resolutely on until he came to a farmer's hut in the middle of an empty plain called Padang Ribu-Ribu. Mandugombak saw the light of a lamp through the wall, and called out asking if anyone was at home, but there was no reply. He called again, and the farmer, who was half-asleep on his mat, got up, opened the window and asked who was calling. Mandugombak asked if he could sleep there that night, and out of pity for Mandugombak's youth, the farmer invited him in. When Mandugombak had rested, the farmer remarked that he looked very young to be out at night, and asked what had brought him there - were his parents angry with him? Where did he come from, and what was his name? Mandugombak answered that he had been rowing a boat near the shore, when a sudden storm had swept his boat out to sea. He had been carried along by the wind and waves and cast ashore

there. His home, he said, was yonder, where the lightning flashes and the thunder rolls, and his name was Sutan Paménan. The farmer said that he was sorry to hear of his unhappy lot, and invited him to stay there and work in the fields with him.

For three days Mandugombak worked in the fields with the farmer. On the fourth, while pausing for a rest, Mandugombak heard the sounds of gongs and *calémpong* and cheering and clapping, carried by the wind. He asked the farmer where the festivities were taking place, and the farmer told him that a tournament was being held in Tiku Pariaman to mark the wedding of prince Anggun Nan Tungga and his fiancée Gondorih. That night Mandugombak's heart was troubled and he could not sleep. Here, he thought, was a way to meet his father, and he decided to ask the farmer's leave to go to the tournament. Next morning, when they had eaten, instead of taking the weed-cutter and spade and going to work, Mandugombak sat brooding. When the farmer asked him why, Mandugombak said that he wanted to go to the tournament in Tiku Pariaman and see the gongs, *calémpong*, *robab* and *kucapi*. The farmer willingly gave Mandugombak leave to go, but warned him that at the tournament each group of people had its proper place: the children's games, such as rolling candle-nuts, were held under the *baringin* tree, and that was where Mandugombak must go. The contests of the princes, elders and guards, such as chess and cock-fighting, were held in other areas, where Mandugombak must not intrude. Mandugombak answered that he would take the farmer's warnings to heart and obey them.

Before going, Mandugombak asked the farmer to let him take a cock to the games. The farmer offered him a fine red and yellow one, but Mandugombak chose a small cock with no tail. As he left the hut, his hand happened to touch a pen-knife on a beam near the door, and he put it in his pocket. Mandugombak hurried along until he was quite near Tiku Pariaman and could hear the gongs and *calémpong*. On the way he picked up a piece of root two cubits long with which to tie the pen-knife to the cock's leg. He was going to flout all the farmer's warnings, so as to provoke the princes at the tournament to anger. He wanted to find his father, but had not seen him for a long time, and had forgotten what he looked like.

Mandugombak entered the enclosure. The flags were like a plantation of bananas, the umbrellas sprouted like mushrooms, and many kinds of

contest were in progress. Mandugombak saw the children's games going on under the white *baringin* tree, but he did not go there. Mandugombak did everything that the farmer had forbidden: he went to the chess-tables where the princes were playing, seized a chessman and ran off with it. The princes were astounded and asked where that ill-mannered boy had come from. The guards caught Mandugombak, retrieved the chessman and took the boy to the children's area, but he refused to stay there. He went to the cock-fighting arena, tied the pen-knife to his little cock's leg, and thrust it forward, so that it confused the cocks which were about to fight. Where men were competing in kicking the wicker ball, Mandugombak darted between the players and put them off. This made the public so angry that they poked and slapped Mandugombak and flicked his ears, but he would not be cowed. Where the elders were setting handicaps and deciding procedure, there too Mandugombak made a disturbance. He was chased all round the enclosure, caught by the guards and taken before Alam Tansudin. Tansudin reprimanded Mandugombak for causing trouble, and the elders said that he was badly behaved. At this Mandugombak warned them not to speak rashly, lest they should find it difficult to redeem their words. Alam Tansudin went and told Anggun Nan Tungga, who came in haste and rebuked Mandugombak severely. Mandugombak answered back cheekily and Alam Tansudin and Nan Tungga slapped him. Then Mandugombak stamped, thumped his chest and said boastfully that he came from Sitombue Bondue Ruhun, and his name was Mandugombak. His father was a man of Tikou, and he had come from afar in search of him, but all he had received was kicks and slaps. He was Mandugombak, son of Dandomi and Nan Tungga, who had left him in Ruhun as a little child.

When Anggun Nan Tungga heard this, he wept and embraced Mandugombak, expressing surprise and joy that his dear son had come from Ruhun. Mandugombak asked Nan Tungga to forgive his rudeness. Nan Tungga explained to the *pangulu* and people that Mandugombak was 'gold scattered on the ocean, diamonds spilt overseas', while he had been in Ruhun seeking Gondorih's requests. He asked them to conduct Mandugombak to the house of his mother, Conto Pomai, and to allow him everything he wanted.

TO GUNUENG BÉNSÉN

When Gondorih heard that Nan Tungga's son Mandugombak had come from Ruhun, she was angry and decided to withdraw to the summit of Gunueng

Bénsén. For, as she told Kombang Malang, Nan Tungga had held a tournament, so that their intention should be fulfilled; but the games had been thrown into disorder by the arrival of Nan Tungga's son by Dandomi Sutan, and now their wish could not be realised. She would follow her destiny wherever it led, and would go to the top of Gunueng Bénsén, so that Anggun Nan Tungga should suffer. Kombang Malang appealed to Gondorlah not to obey her emotions, for she would be the one to suffer. She reminded Gondorlah how Nan Tungga had sought her on Gunueng Lédang and brought her back to Tiku Pariaman. Now the games had begun and the enclosure was crowded, but Gondorlah wanted to go up Gunueng Bénsén. Kombang Malang was unwilling to let her go, but Gondorlah threatened to stab herself, and Kombang Malang admitted that she could no more stop Gondorlah than prevent water flowing downstream. After angrily cutting up cushions and scattering rings and bracelets about, Gondorlah walked out of the house. First she came to a broad rice-field, then to an empty plain called Padang Ribu-Ribu, and finally to the mountain. She pushed into the dense jungle, sharp grasses brushing her calves and shoulders, and vines whipping her face.

Kombang Malang ran to the games enclosure and made her way through the crowd to Anggun Nan Tungga's pavilion. She told Nan Tungga that Gondorlah had gone to Gunueng Bénsén, and asked him what should be done. Nan Tungga was startled to hear the news, and announced to everyone present that Gondorlah had withdrawn to Gunueng Bénsén because of Mandugombak's arrival from Ruhun and the disruption of the tournament. He ordered them to continue the games, while he and Abang Salamat went to Gunueng Bénsén to look for Gondorlah. Abang Salamat vowed not to return until Gondorlah had been found.

Anggun Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat hastened to Gondorlah's house and, finding it deserted, walked on until they reached a broad rice-field. Leaving that behind them, they crossed the desolate plain called Padang Ribu-Ribu, pressed forward to the foot of the mountain, and began to push through the tall grass and the jungle. As fate would have it, Gondorlah was resting under a shady tree. Nan Tungga saw her sitting there weeping, and went towards her. Gondorlah took three paces away, but Nan Tungga followed her and she stopped. He asked her where she had sold wisdom and bought foolishness. The tournament had been in full swing, and a propitious moment being sought for them to tread the well-

worn path and fulfil their intention, but Gondorlah had brought all this to nought. Had she no pity for him? He reminded her of how, making light of difficulties, he had obtained every one of her 120 requests, and he urged her to come back with him, since the tournament was still in progress. They would assemble the elders, close the tournament, and summon the *kadi* from the prayer-house, so that matters could be settled without any doubt.

Gondorlah made no reply but continued to weep. When Nan Tungga asked her if he had said anything amiss, she answered that the bond between them had fallen away and she felt deserted. She told Nan Tungga to go back to Tiku, close the tournament and sail to Ruhun, for he was bound by love to Dandomi Sutan, and his son had come from Ruhun to take him home. She would stay and live on Gunueng Bénsén. Anggun Nan Tungga reminded Gondorlah of the reason why he had consented to live with Dandomi: Dandomi had possessed a talking parrot, the only one of Gondorlah's requests which Nan Tungga had not yet obtained. But Dandomi had refused to sell it, for its purpose had been to find her a husband. Nan Tungga had married Dandomi, not because he really wanted to, but because of his promise to Gondorlah. He had pawned himself so as not to disappoint her. He had stayed so long in Ruhun, waiting for the bird, that God had sent him a son, Mandugombak - gold scattered on the ocean, diamonds spilt overseas. Now he and Gondorlah would go back to Tiku Pariaman, assemble their families, close the tournament and hold a feast. Had she no pity, he asked, for the people of Tiku? Everyone at the tournament was weeping, and Kombang Malang had become as thin as a spoon-handle. If Gondorlah refused to go back, he would collect all the people of Tiku Pariaman and bring them to live in the jungle on Gunueng Bénsén.

These words softened Gondorlah's heart, and she replied that, so long as Nan Tungga was at the helm, she was willing to sail over the ocean to Langgopuri. If the oars broke, they would row with their hands, and if the sea ran dry, they would fill it up again with tears, so long as they reached their haven. Nan Tungga and Gondorlah, followed by Abang Salamat, descended Gunueng Bénsén, pushing through the jungle, while sharp grasses brushed their calves and chests, and vines lashed their faces. Leaving the mountain, they crossed the desolate plain and made for Tiku Pariaman. Before long the *pangulu* and people, who were waiting

at the arena, caught sight of the three of them. Nan Tungga and Gondorlah went to her house, where Kombang Malang hurried out to greet her mistress.

Two months had passed since Mandugombak left Sitombue Bondue Ruhun. Dandomi Sutan had received no news from him, and now she sat brooding silently. Her father Monggueng Kayo asked her why: did she have a headache or a fever? Dandomi reminded him that when Mandugombak had left, he had promised to return in two weeks. Now two months had gone by without any news, and she wondered if Mandugombak had come to grief at sea. For her own peace of mind, she wanted to go to Tiku Pariaman and look for her child. Monggueng Kayo was unwilling to let Dandomi go. He said that people would think it improper if she sailed alone, for according to custom, "if you sail, you should have a captain; if you travel, you should have a companion." Dandomi replied that her aim in going to Tiku was not to meet Anggun Nan Tungga, but to look for her son. She had never seen her father's home, and now she wished to do so, and at the same time look for Mandugombak. She would take seven ships: in the first would sail the elders, in the second the *pangulu*, in the third the princesses, and in the fourth the maids and attendants. She herself would sail in the fifth, the sixth would be loaded with food, and the seventh would carry the guards. Monggueng Kayo gave his agreement and told Dandomi to sound the drum in the council-hall, so that the people of Ruhun should assemble and be informed.

At Dandomi's bidding, the groom Sampono Alam hastened to the council-hall, took a length of rattan and struck the drum. Hearing the sound, all the people of Ruhun, old and young, men and women, came from upstream and downstream and gathered at the council-hall. Standing in the hall, Monggueng Kayo explained why the drum had been sounded. When Mandugombak went to Tiku, he had promised to come back in two weeks, but now two months had passed. Dandomi Sutan was therefore going to Tiku Pariaman to find her son, and would take seven ships. Monggueng Kayo ordered the elders, *pangulu*, guards, princesses and maids to assemble in their several groups and make ready to depart in three days time. They did as they had been commanded, and the 14 attendants and 25 princesses busily prepared four or five kinds of food. When everyone was ready, the people of Ruhun went to the shore, where the seven ships were anchored, and the elders, *pangulu*, attendants, and Dandomi all embarked. At a propitious moment the ships sailed, while the crowds on the shore

clapped and cheered.

The seven ships left the shore and sailed out to sea in a line, like swimming ducks. They sped so swiftly through the waves and over the foam that promontories seemed to approach as if summoned. After sailing day and night for three days, the ships arrived on the fourth day in the bay of Kualo Monggueng, the harbour of Tiku Pariaman. Dandomi Sutan ordered that the Japanese cannon, seven cubits long, should be fired, as a sign of their arrival. Gunpowder was ground, shot was loaded, and the gun was discharged, with a noise that made Pariaman tremble.

The people at the arena were startled and ran to the shore. Looking out to sea they saw seven ships in a line. At the games there was confusion: people ran hither and thither, chess-tables were overturned, fighting cocks were released and spurs let drop. Wondering where the ships had come from, the elders ordered Si Marak Alam, an official of the games, to row out to the ships and enquire. Si Marak Alam did so, and was told by the elders in the ships that they had come from Sitombue Bondue Ruhun. They were under the command of Dandomi Sutan, whose father was Katimongguengan, a man of Pariaman. Si Marak Alam rowed back to shore and reported to the elders that the people in the ships were not only relatives, but close relatives: Dandomi Sutan, the daughter of Katimongguengan, had come from Sitombue Bondue Ruhun. As soon as they heard this, the elders and *pangulu* waved their handkerchieves and beckoned to the seven ships, whereupon the ships all drew close to land. Dandomi Sutan stepped ashore, followed by her maids and attendants, and the elders, *pangulu* and guards from Ruhun. Then they all went in procession to Conto Pomai's house, applauded by a great throng of people, who peered, rubbed shoulders and trod on each other's toes.

TO GUNUENG IJAU

In her *anjueng*, Gondorlah heard the commotion at the arena and learned that Dandomi Sutan had come from Ruhun. Angrily she resolved to withdraw, for the third and last time, to Gunueng Ijau, so that Nan Tungga should suffer. She would never set foot in Pariaman again. There was nobody about: everyone was at Conto Pomai's house, welcoming Dandomi Sutan. Mandugombak had not met Dandomi yet: he was at the games, playing with the other children under the *baringin* tree.

Gondorlah said a last farewell to her home and walked away alone. Reaching a fork in the road, she turned left towards Gunueng Ijau and walked on, sobbing and empty-handed, until she came to the mountain, which was by the seashore.

Anggun Tungga said to Abang Salamat that this was the second time that the tournament had been thrown into confusion, but this time it was for an extraordinary reason: Dandomi had come from Ruhun to visit her father's home. He asked Salamat to go to Gondorlah's house and enquire how she was. Abang Salamat hastened to Gondorlah's house. Seeing him in the yard, Kombang Malang hurried out and told him that, because of the commotion at the tournament, Gondorlah had withdrawn for the third time, this time to Gunueng Ijau. She asked Salamat to call Nan Tungga and search for Gondorlah until she was found. Startled, Abang Salamat ran to the arena and told Nan Tungga that Gondorlah had withdrawn to Gunueng Ijau. Nan Tungga said he felt weak and shaken. From Gondorlah's actions it appeared that their wish would not be realised. However, he would go alone and search for Gondorlah on Gunueng Ijau. He ordered Salamat to remain and ensure that the tournament continued.

Anggun Nan Tungga set off for the mountain, which was not far from Tiku Pariaman. Quickly and resolutely he walked on until he reached the slopes of Gunueng Ijau. There, as fate would have it, he found Gondorlah's tracks in the long grass. He followed them and came upon Gondorlah weeping and bewailing her fate. Nan Tungga said that he had not expected her to repay him like this. The tournament was in progress, yet she had come away to Gunueng Ijau. She asked him where he had sold his wits and bought stupidity. This was the third time she had withdrawn, but this time he must not expect her to return. She reminded him that he had made a vow when he went to sea. Once abroad, he had broken his word. She had climbed Gunueng Lédang, and he had brought her down again. Agreement had been reached, and upon reaching Tiku they had held a tournament. Then Mandugombak had come from Ruhun, but she had acknowledged her rashness and agreed to return from Gunueng Bénsén. Now Dandomi had come with seven ships. Why did he abandon Dandomi, who was bound to him by love? Let him go back to Ruhun. Nan Tungga told Gondorlah that, as he had said before, he had not married Dandomi because he loved her, but because of the bird. He urged Gondorlah to come back to Tiku with him. There they would seek the agreement of the elders

and the divines.

As they talked, Nan Tungga and Gondorlah walked down the mountain-side and came to a shady tree on the sea-shore. Again Nan Tungga asked her to return: had she no pity for Kombang Malang and the attendants? Gondorlah answered that Nan Tungga was fine white cloth, but she was a scrap of rag. He must not try to persuade her, for their solemn oath, which had been recorded by the *malin* and safe-guarded by Abang Salamat, had been broken. She was sure that their intention would never be realised. Nan Tungga's tears had found a solace, but she had a solitary destiny. Just as the sea could be fathomed, and the whiteness of cloth could be seen, so Nan Tungga would now see her determination: let them now cancel their vow together, there under the great tree.

Nan Tungga replied that, if Gondorlah would not return to Tiku, neither would he. Let them both suffer together on Gunueng Ijau. Then, as a sign that their vow was cancelled, Gondorlah took off her jacket. Offering Nan Tungga her hand, she bade him a final farewell. She threw her jacket to Nan Tungga, who held it in his arms, then she disappeared from sight. Still holding the jacket, Nan Tungga looked about and called to Gondorlah to come back. Now Gondorlah's jacket cried out. Nan Tungga looked and saw that it had become furry. By the decree of Allah the jacket had turned into a white gibbon. Nan Tungga threw it into the shady tree, and it cried out. Nan Tungga roared Gondorlah's name, but there was no answer and she could not be seen. Gathering up his courage, Anggun Nan Tungga plunged into the sea. By Allah's decree he became a dolphin. Gondorlah had become a goddess, and her jacket had turned into a white gibbon.

In Tiku the people waited at the arena for two days. Then the *pangulu* agreed that they should call the *malin*, who divined by means of the *kutiko limo* that Nan Tungga and Gondorlah had met with ill fortune. Anggun Nan Tungga was in the sea and had become a dolphin, and Gondorlah had become a goddess and her jacket had changed into a white gibbon. When they heard this, everyone at the arena went in a large crowd to Gunueng Ijau, hoping to pull Nan Tungga from the sea. They could see Nan Tungga's foot-prints, but neither he nor Gondorlah were to be seen. The white gibbon cried sadly and soulfully from the shady tree. Using his magic powers, the *malin* summoned the seven winds from heaven. They came down, twisting the sea and parting the waters, until Nan Tungga

could be seen in the depths. But he could not be drawn out, and the winds returned to the heavens. The people of Tiku went home weeping, for their bright torch was extinguished and their far-seeing glass was shattered.

Mandugombak was at the house of Conto Pomai. He looked just like his father: they were like an areca-nut split in two. Dandomi was misled by a devil and spoke to Mandugombak in error. Addressing him as Anggun Nan Tungga, she asked where Mandugombak was. Was he at the tournament? Would he go and fetch Mandugombak, as she longed to see him? At this Mandugombak sat and wept, and Conto Pomai told Dandomi and Mandugombak that they were mother and son: why had she yielded to the temptation of a devil? Mandugombak told Dandomi that she ought to redeem her mistaken words. He was not Anggun Nan Tungga, but Mandugombak, Nan Tungga's son. His father was seeking Gondorah on Gunueng Ijau. Dandomi collapsed in a faint, Conto Pomai beat her breast, and Mandugombak tore his hair. Then Dandomi, realising that Mandugombak was her son, took his hand and said that it was his father's deeds which had led to disaster.¹⁰¹

At Conto Pomai's house, the people came and went, moving hither and thither in great throngs. Then a propitious day was found for Mandugombak and Dandomi Sutan to return to Ruhun. All the elders and people of Tiku Pariaman lamented, because their prince Anggun Nan Tungga was in the sea.

DIFFERING VERSIONS

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, versions of the story differ from one *tukang sijobang* to another, both with regard to the plot-outline and in the details of particular scenes.

I asked three *tukang sijobang* (Buyueng, Nurman and Juran) how their versions of the story differed from a one-page outline of the plot which I had abstracted from Munin's narrated version. The main differences were as follows:

Buyueng:

Anggun Nan Tungga wins Intan Korong, not at Nan Kodo Baha's tournament, but after Nan Tungga has sailed from Tiku, when his ship meets that of Nan Kodo Baha, and Nan Tungga beats him in a competition to guess the names of the islands. After that Nan Kodo Baha goes to Tiku and proposes to Gondorihah, telling her that Nan Tungga has drowned. Before going to Bintawai, Nan Tungga sails to a cave in the ocean. At Bintawai, the names of Kadirullah and Kojo Intan are reversed, and Bindurai Sati and Gajogun Lauk are two separate people. The Dutch are not involved, as the events take place much earlier. At Pasisie, Nan Tungga rebuilds Intan Korong's home. Nan Tungga and Alam Tansudin are both cousins of Andam Bariah, and it is their fathers who descend from the skies to stop them fighting at Indojadi. Their fathers also make Alam Tansudin marry Andam Bariah. Nan Tungga's child (named Mandugo Gombak) is captured by pirates on his way from Ruhun to Tiku. Gondorihah is unaware of his coming, but retires to Gunueng Bénsén in response to Dandomi Sutan's arrival (while Nan Tungga is taking Dandomi and Mandugombak part of the way back to Ruhun). After Nan Tungga has returned to Tiku and fetched Gondorihah from Gunueng Bénsén, Santan Batapih comes to Tiku intending to marry him. At this Gondorihah goes up Gunueng Ijau and is brought back. Then Intan Korong comes, hoping to marry Nan Tungga, and Gondorihah withdraws to Gunueng Gêrak Gémbang, at the foot of which she becomes a gibbon and Nan Tungga a dolphin.

Nurman:

Before ascending into heaven, Anggun Nan Tungga's ship is stopped by *jin*, but he overcomes them by uttering the confession of faith. In Bintawai, Kabirullah (not Kadirullah), the swineherd, agrees to return

to Tiku, but Kojo Intan, who has grown rich in the service of the Dutch, refuses and is killed. After taking Intan Korong home, Nan Tungga re-encounters Nan Kodo Baha, fights with him and blinds him in one eye. Mandugombak comes to Tiku, not on a mat, but in the ship of Sutan Rajo Benda of Pulau Érak Gémbang. When he reaches Tiku, and Gondorlah goes up Gunueng Ijau, it is Mandugombak who persuades her to come down. When Dandomi comes to Tiku, Mandugombak tricks Nan Tungga into coming aboard the ship, and then sails away with him and Dandomi. At this Gondorlah goes to Gunueng Béntén and turns into a white gibbon. At sea Nan Tungga cannot decide between Gondorlah and Dandomi, Tiku and Ruhun, and asks Tuanku Soru Alam to send the winds to wreck the ship. This he does, Dandomi is drowned, Nan Tungga becomes a divine dolphin and Mandugombak a divine wave.

Juran:

The initial tournament is to declare Gondorlah's engagement to Nan Tungga. Nan Kodo Baha is Nan Tungga's rival for her hand. Nan Tungga goes to sea without Intan Korong, but obtains her by a trick when he meets Nan Kodo Baha's ship. Nan Kodo Baha tries, but fails, to lure Nan Tungga into a pirate's lair. The rescue of Kojo Intan precedes the killing of Kadirullah. Bindurai Sati and Gajogun Lauk are two different people. Nan Tungga repairs Intan Korong's house. At Tanau and Ruhun the two place-names are reversed. On arrival at Tiku, Nan Tungga does not let Gondorlah have the parrot, but she withdraws to Gunueng Lédang before he lands, having been visited by the parrot earlier, direct from Ruhun (as in Munin's story). Mandugombak comes to Tiku by ship. After Dandomi's arrival, when Gondorlah has become a demigoddess on Gunueng Bénsi, Nan Tungga goes back to Tanau. But Dandomi curses him and he becomes a dolphin. Finally Nan Tungga and Gondorlah dream that they marry.¹⁰²

None of these three plot-outlines differs very greatly from Munin's plot; but it may be significant that what differences there are occur mainly in the last part of the story (which is apparently one of the parts least often performed), whereas the four *tukang sijobang* were in almost complete agreement as to the Tanau-Ruhun episode (said to be the

most popular). Perhaps if an episode is performed frequently, a sort of consensus - as to its outline at least - develops among performers and the public.

Tukang sijobang who agree as to the general outline of an episode (as Munin, Buyueng, Nurman and Juran seem to with regard to the Tanau-Ruhun episode) may, nonetheless, differ at the more detailed level of the actions or arguments making up a particular scene in that episode. This can be seen by comparing the performances by Munin and Nurman of the scene, at Tanau, in which Santan Batapih meets Nan Tungga on his ship and persuades him to come ashore. Their performances of this scene are summarised below.

Munin:

Nan Tungga asks Santan why she has come to the ship. She answers that she wants him to visit her house, because he is *bako* to her. Nan Tungga says he is glad she has come, but is reluctant to walk with her to Tanau because it will offend custom. Therefore she should return first, and he will follow later. Santan assures him that they will not offend custom, and that she will answer any accusations and pay any penalties. Nan Tungga says that his clothes are worn, and that he will suffer frustration if he sees "attractive clothing" which he may not wear but only look at. Santan answers that she made the clothing herself, and it has been waiting for him to wear it. Nan Tungga says he has a fever, and that he will come ashore when it has passed. Santan replies that he should let her nurse him at her house. If he dies, she will bury him in her own plot, or keep his body in her *anjueng*. Nan Tungga says that he is searching for a parrot for his fiancée Gondoriah, and that he will go and catch it on Bukik Si Guntang-Guntang first, then call at Tanau on his way home. Santan says she has a parrot, but as Nan Tungga refuses to come ashore, they must part. She starts to walk away. Nan Tungga tells Santan not to be hasty, and says he will be glad to come ashore.

Nurman:

Nan Tungga asks Santan why she has come. She replies that she has come to invite him to her house. He agrees, but says he will come later. Santan says he ought to come because he is her *bako*, and if he doesn't,

she will be ashamed before the people of Tiku. Nan Tungga says he would like to come, but is ill. Santan replies that he will not get better on the ship, and he should come and be nursed at her house. If he dies, she will have him buried ceremoniously. Nan Tungga says he is looking for a parrot which can talk. Santan answers that she has a parrot at home, which he can have if he will come ashore. Nan Tungga asks her to bring it to the ship, and he will buy it. Santan refuses to sell it, but says Nan Tungga can have it free, if he will come ashore. Nan Tungga asks her to bring the bird to the ship, because he fears that if he goes ashore he will offend custom, out of ignorance. Santan assures him that she will pay any penalties, if he errs accidentally. Nan Tungga says that if he comes ashore, it will not be for long, and that he wishes to return to Tiku at once. Santan answers that she will be happy, if he will just come ashore and take the parrot. Nan Tungga agrees to come.

As can be seen, the two performances differ to some extent over the arguments used by Nan Tungga and Santan Batapih, and also as to the order in which they are deployed. A performance by Munin's pupil, As, of the same scene differed very little from Munin's with regard to the content of the arguments and counter-arguments put forward, but introduced them in a different order (the wrong order according to Munin), and added a longish section in which Nan Tungga describes the building of his ship and enumerates some of Gondorih's requests.

LOCAL ATTITUDES TO *SIJOBANG*

Popular episodes: Both *tukang sijobang* and others whom I asked agreed that *Ka Tanau* was the best-liked part of the story. It was usually said to be particularly popular among the young, because of its romantic subject-matter. (According to a similar stereotype, sections concerning customary law were deemed to interest the old.) Other episodes thought especially popular were *Maanta Intan Korong* and *Maalah Kopah Nan Tujueh*. Munin considered *Ka Tanau* sufficiently varied to appeal to all sections of the audience: for the young there were Nan Tungga's encounters with Santan Batapih and Dandomi Sutan; for the pious there was the moral guidance given by Patieh Maudun to Santan; and for the old there were

the references to various traditional functionaries in Maudun's first conversation with Abang Salamat. In general, I was told, audiences prefer dialogue and *pantun* to plain narrative, and this tallies with the reputed popularity of *Ka Tanau* and *Maanta Intan Korong*. According to my own observations, what caused the audience to respond (by nodding appreciatively, smiling, laughing, poking their neighbours or sniggering) were *pantun* (either preliminary to the story or during it) and the verbal fencing and trickery which occur in Nan Tungga's dialogues with Intan Korong, Santan Batapih, and Dandomi Sutan (when he persuades her to let him return to Tiku). The scenes in which the parrot outwits Nan Tungga and everybody else also drew appreciative comments.

The characters as exemplars: Munin and others whom I asked spoke of Anggun Nan Tungga as a person of exemplary character. In their eyes, he was completely justified in tricking Intan Korong into going home (her parents needed her), and seducing Dayang Daini (he was really testing Abang Salamat); and his numerous other deceptions (of, for example, Panduko Rajo, Intan Korong's mother, Patieh Maudun, Santan Batapih and Dandomi Sutan) were described as the actions of a diplomat. For trickery, and concealing one's intentions, are praiseworthy, not reprehensible, by Minangkabau standards, and there are proverbs which express this attitude.¹⁰³ As well as being diplomatic, Anggun Nan Tungga is thought of (this, at any rate, was my impression) as setting a fine example of loyalty by his long quest for Gondorih's requests and his tireless efforts to bring her back from the three mountains to which she withdraws. Nan Tungga is also felt to deserve sympathy: the scene in which he parts from Mandugombak is said to cause some listeners to weep.

Santan Batapih, on the other hand, is seen as a bad example, in particular for her improper haste to meet Nan Tungga, and her foolishness in taking him to Dandomi's house against her father's orders. However, she is also thought of as unlucky and deserving some pity, for her return from Ruhun, alone and empty-handed, is considered a sad scene - one *tukang sijobang* (As) told me that he had reduced a *buya*¹⁰⁴ to tears with his performance of it. Gondorih is not, I gathered, a much-liked character. I was told that her name is sometimes used proverbially of grasping or over-demanding wives. In general, however, it seems that the characters in the story are not so well-known, nor so often referred

to in daily life, as characters from the *wayang* are said to be in Java.¹⁰⁵

Sijobang and Islam: Just as *randai* is frowned on today by many serious Muslims, so too *sijobang* used to be strongly disapproved of in the same circles, in particular because it involved the singing of amorous *pantun*, and in devout households the very word *pantun* was forbidden.¹⁰⁶ Some went so far as to condemn *sijobang* as *kapie* (infidel).¹⁰⁷ Nowadays, however, attitudes seem to be different, for I was told by people who disapproved of *randai* on religious grounds that they regarded *sijobang* as harmless. On the other hand, it still seems to have a non-Islamic flavour, for I heard *sijobang* referred to as a *curito préman*, i.e. a story for *paréwa*, and some of the introductory *pantun* used by *tukang sijobang* explicitly contrast Islamic piety with the pleasures of *sijobang*. For example:

Pokan Sulasa di Sicincin,	Market on Tuesday in Sicincin,
Sulasa balai Piobang,	Tuesday market in Piobang,
rami dék anak mudo-mudo;	it's full of young people;
daulu ambo maumin,	I used to be pious,
taga dék ulah dunie sijobang,	because of the pleasures of <i>sijobang</i> ,
kini babaliek jahie pulo.	I've turned irreligious again.

Another such *pantun* (of which only the second half is quoted here) runs as follows:

Ampun dimintak ka nan banyak,	I ask pardon of you all,
ambo mangombang kitab sétan,	I am opening the book of devils, ¹⁰⁸
indak basyorak basumbillah,	without religious law and without <i>bismillah</i> ¹⁰⁹
ontah badoso ontah tido,	perhaps it's sinful, perhaps not,
badan mbo sajo mananguangkan.	I alone bear the blame.

It has been suggested that *sijobang*'s slightly profane aura is one of the reasons why the Minangkabau enjoy listening to it, for it can provide them (especially the more devout Muslims) with a feeling of release from the pressure of Islamic propriety.¹¹⁰ For whatever reason, when the *pantun* quoted above were sung in a *lopau*, they were greeted by a good deal of laughter.

Munin and other *tukang sijobang* would always deny that there were any religious objections to *sijobang*. He explained the words *ambo mangombang kitab sétan* (in the *pantun* just quoted) as meaning merely that the story contained references to devils and spirits, whereas the more likely inter-

pretation is that it is the "book of the devil", i.e. an evil book. He added, moreover, that such *pantun* meant nothing, and were only meant to raise a laugh. To illustrate the acceptability of *sijobang* in religious circles, he told me that he had been engaged sometimes to sing to parties of prospective hajjis about to sail on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Another *tukang sijobang* (Nurman) put forward the theory that *sijobang* had originally been introduced into Lima Puluh Kota by a Muslim missionary called Buya Zainuddin as a means of attracting audiences, to whom he would then preach Islam. I noticed that this explanation was taken up and repeated by local officials of the Department of Education and Culture, who may have welcomed an opportunity to improve the slightly impious image of *sijobang*. One of these officials also put an Islamic interpretation on certain personages in the story, saying that Tuanku Soru Alam and his daughter Siti Roani symbolised, respectively, God and the human soul.

Historicity: All but one of the *tukang sijobang* I asked said they believed the story of Anggun Nan Tungga to be true, and relatively few people whom I asked expressed scepticism about it. Some have produced genealogies: I was given a copy of one which purports to show the links between Nan Tungga, Gondorih, Santan Batapih and many other characters in the story, and goes back four generations. Similarly, A Damhoeri mentions, in the preface to his (unpublished) Indonesian prose version of the story of Nan Tungga, theories about the descent of Nan Tungga, which link him with the legendary founders of Minangkabau custom, Parapatieh Nan Sabatang and Katumanguengan.¹¹¹ As to the date at which the story took place, there was no agreement among the *tukang sijobang* whom I asked. Some said 200 or 300 years ago, and one put it in 1 AD, "when the Dutch still had short noses".

NOTES

1. I was present on the first of ten nights during which a *tukang sijobang* (Bakaruddin) was said to be singing the full story from beginning to end; but having spent the first two hours singing about the genealogy of Anggun Nan Tungga, Bakaruddin was asked to sing the much more popular episode about Santan Batapih, which occurs about half-way through the story. However, this experience may not be typical.
2. Major inconsistencies will be pointed out in the notes to the summary of the story later in this chapter. Inconsistencies in the Homeric and other epic poems are discussed in Bowra, 1952, pp 299-305.

3. It was, perhaps, unrealistic to hope for anything else from men whose education and practical experience had never trained them to make systematic summaries, especially of long and complicated stories.
4. At the *lopau* and wedding performances I was part of a large gathering being entertained by the *tukang sijobang*, and was not the only person with a tape-recorder. At the domestic performances, too, the singing was requested, not by me, but by the other listeners, who wanted a change from the (less entertaining) recitation. That the singing was not primarily intended for me to record was shown by the fact that when my tape ran out Munin did not stop, as he did when reciting. It may, anyway, be presumptuous to assume that the presence of an outsider necessarily causes entertainers to alter their performances. For example, at a *randai* performance which I attended the *urang putieh* were portrayed as clumsy and stupid, to the great amusement of the audience, who watched my reactions with interest, and without seeming embarrassed.
5. As Munin never indicated exactly where one episode ended and the next began, the location of the headings in the summary should not be regarded as authoritative.
6. According to Munin, this brief episode is rarely if ever sung. Whether for that reason, or because of his initially doubtful attitude, Munin did not include it in his first night's recitation, but recorded it last of all.
7. Probably from the tree *gandoriah* (*Bouea macrophylla*).
8. Raised wing at one end (or both ends) of a Mingangkabau family house, traditionally occupied by unmarried girls.
9. *Omai* (standard Minang *amai*) means 'mother'. In the printed version by Amba Mahkota, the name is Ameh Manah, 'Inherited Gold'.
10. The names of maidservants in Minangkabau traditional stories are often compounds of Kambang (or Kambang in standard Minangkabau), e.g. Kambang Manah, Kambang Cino. *Si Kambang* is a general term for 'maidservant'.
11. Munin visualised her as about 12 years old.
12. A measure of volume, approximately four litres.
13. Nan Kodo was sometimes pronounced by Munin as two distinct words, sometimes as one: *Nangkodo*. The meaning is clearly the same as Indonesian *nakhoda* (sea-captain), the form *Nan Kodo* perhaps resulting from the influence of other names in the story, such as Nan Tungga and Nan Gondo (as Gondoriah is often referred to).

The summary from here until the point where Nan Tungga parts from the guards of the house of diamonds (p33) is based on a repeat recording which Munin made because of omissions in his first recording, as explained earlier in this chapter.
14. *Anggun* is translated in van der Toorn's *Woordenboek* as 'beschaafd, welgemanierd, net' i.e. refined or polite, but Munin regarded it as merely a name, without particular meaning. *Nan Tungga* refers to the hero's unigeniture. Of his other two names, Badu Roman is a form of

Abdul Rahman, and Si Jobang Sati could be 1) 'he of the magic swivel-gun mount' (see Wilkinson s.v. *jabang*); 2) 'he of the magic side-whiskers' (see Moehammad Thaib, s.v. *djabang*); or 3) 'he of the magic shield' (see Wilkinson s.v. *jebang* I). (*Sati* is the Minangkabau form of *sakti*.) A fourth possibility, proposed by Dr Khaidir Anwar, is that Si Jobang is another form of Si Jombang, 'the handsome one' (see Moehammad Thaib s.v. *djombang*). Nan Tungga's three names constitute the first of many occurrences in the story of the number three.

15. I.e. 'perfect example'. In the Ambas Mahkota version she is Ganto Pamai, 'Perfect Bell'.
16. In the story Tiku Pariaman is treated as a single place, and is referred to as Tiku Pariaman, or Tiku or Pariaman (or Piaman). Present-day Tiku and Pariaman are about 30 miles apart.
17. Sunur and Kurai Taji are today two villages in the *kabupaten* of Padang/Pariaman (see Map 1).
18. Perhaps meaning 'jewel of the village (or compound)', as *korong* is used as a synonym for *kampueng* by Munin.
19. I.e. he was going to marry her. Marriage is nearly always referred to in this story in indirect phrases such as *niat disampaikan*, *kaue dilopéhkan*, i.e. one's wish, prayer, intention, etc. is fulfilled, realised, carried out etc. I have tried to preserve this in the English, although I can find no satisfactory expression in our language.
20. The practice, now discontinued, of holding cock-fights in conjunction with weddings (*kawin jo galanggang*) is discussed by de Josselin de Jong (1960, pp 79-81), who describes it as a means of selecting a husband from a number of suitors. In the story of Anggun Nan Tungga there are four tournaments, only one of which serves to choose a husband (in the other three cases the husband has already been decided). In all of them cock-fighting is only one of a number of competitions.
21. Lineage heads.
22. The importance of the relationship between a man and his sisters' children is discussed in de Josselin de Jong, 1951, especially chapters 2 and 5.
23. The Malay equivalent would be Tambi Besar, suggesting a potentate of Tamil extraction (see Wilkinson s.v. *tambi*).
24. His servant, also called Bujang Salamat by Munin and other *tukang sijobang*. Salamat is a common name for manservants in Minangkabau stories.
25. Because she did not want him to leave home in search of them. (This is stated in Munin's first recording of the passage, and elsewhere in this recording.)
26. Lasting two months, according to Munin's first recording.
27. A coin of little value, now obsolete.

28. Munin omitted from this list (though he mentioned it later in the story) Gondoriah's most important request, on which much of the story hangs - a talking parrot (*nuri*).
- According to Munin, Gondoriah's list of requests was intended to discourage Nan Tingga from leaving home (though this is nowhere stated in his version of the story).
29. The number seven recurs quite frequently in the story.
30. Pilot. But throughout the story the *malin* acts mainly as a source of magical power and knowledge.
31. *Soru alam* means 'the whole world', and is here probably an echo of phrases like *Tuhan seru semesta sekalian*, 'Lord of All'. See Wilkinson, s.v. *seru* II.
32. According to Munin, the place where the oarsmen sat and the work of the ship was done. I have not been able to trace the word elsewhere.
33. Probably derived from Mentawai, the name of islands off the coast of West Sumatra.
34. Possibly derived from Manila.
35. Probably another form of the word *bedurai/bizurai/wizurai* which Wilkinson derives from Portuguese *vice-rey*, 'viceroys'. (Raja Bedurai Puteh is one of Anggun Che' Tunggal's enemies in the *Hikayat Anggun Che' Tunggal*.)
36. *Taléh* is *Colocasia esculenta*. Presumably it was cut for swine-fodder.
37. A name applied to many plants.
38. The opening chapter of the Koran.
39. The relationship between Tombi Bosa, Bindurai Sati and the Dutch is not clearly stated in this version of the story, but in conversation Munin said that they were henchmen of the Dutch.
40. The English equivalent would be 'kill two birds with one stone'.
41. Reminiscent of the taunts directed at Bilantur, when the hero had cut off his ears and nose, in the story of Kichapi told in Geddes's *Nine Dayak Nights*, pp 131 and 134 of the 1968 reprint.
42. Probably another form of Langkapura, i.e. Sri Lanka. Here *pulau Langgopuri* symbolises marriage, according to Munin.
43. There being no well-known mountain of this name in Sumatra, this probably refers to Gunung Ledang near Malacca, which features in many legends in Malaya and is mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu*.
44. This pattern of beats on a mosque drum is used in Minangkabau to announce a death or other unexpected occurrence.

45. The rib of a palm-frond which flutters when there is no wind, and is thought to have magical properties.
46. According to Munin, the name means *pamboritau*, i.e. teller, announcer. It may, on the other hand, be connected with *gégoh* (disturbed).
47. Munin said that *munjonun* meant to search, but the name appears to be related to *Lela majnun*, which according to Wilkinson's dictionary was a swivel-gun named after the hero and heroine of the Laila-Majnun romance. See Wilkinson s.v. *lela* II.
48. 'Sweeper of the reach (or coast)'
49. An eight-pointed figure used in divination, perhaps like those illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, plates XXXIII, 5, and XXXIV, 6.
50. A system of divination. See van Hasselt, 1881a, plate XXXIII, 1, and XXIV, 1.
51. There is a slight inconsistency in the use of both slow-matches and a trigger.
52. The name suggests that the ship was slow. (*énsuk* = budge).
53. Munin sometimes called them yellow, sometimes white, and their number was sometimes 14, sometimes 16.
54. Maudun seems to be a form of Makudum or Mangkudum, the title of one of the four ministers of the former Minangkabau realm. It may be derived from the Arabic word for 'master' (see Wilkinson s.v. *makhḍum*). Monggueng Kayo is later in the story also called Katimongguengan, the name of one of the legendary law-givers of Minangkabau. On Katumanggungan and the Mangkudum, see de Josselin de Jong, (1960), pp 12, 14 and 106-107.
55. A loom and a rice-barn like those found in Minangkabau today are illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, plate CXV, 1, and plate XLV, 1 respectively.
56. *Padi salibu* is the rice which grows again after the harvest in meagre quantities.
57. An unidentified species, perhaps *Ficus annulata*.
58. I.e. *panau* - light marks on the skin (caused by skin-disease) which used to be considered beautiful. See note 10₅ below.
59. A cheap material not normally used for mats. *Pua* is a generic name for wild gingers and especially cardamom.
60. This may refer either to his promise to restore the house, or to his promise to marry Intan Korong, or perhaps both.
61. These four features were among the traditional marks of a *nagari*, or village. (See de Josselin de Jong, 1960, p 81.)

62. *Sitombue* and *Ruhun* are Minangkabau equivalents of Malay *Setambul* (Istanbul) and *Rum* (Rome, i.e. the Byzantine Empire). *Bondue*, 'threshold', is a mistake for *bonue* (Malay *benua*) meaning country or place. *Ruhun*, for *Rum*, parallels the form *jihin*, which occurs as a variant of *jîn* in *sijobang*. Dr Khaidir Anwar also recalls hearing *pihir* as a variant of *pil*, 'pill'.
63. I.e. 'Filtered Coconut Cream'.
64. I.e. father's family. Traditionally the ideal marriage-partner for a Minangkabau girl was her father's sister's son. (See de Josselin de Jong, 1960, pp 63-64). This made Anggun Nan Tungga the ideal match for both Santan Batapih and Dandomi Sutan.
65. The exhortation to prayer which follows the call to prayer and precedes the prayers themselves.
66. The leader of the congregation.
67. Blue is the traditional colour of Lima Puluh Kota, red that of Agam, and yellow that of Tanah Datar.
68. To say that Payo Kumbueh (Payakumbuh is the Indonesian form) has many *pangulu* (lineage heads) and few *dubalang* (village guards), while Agam has few *pangulu* and many *dubalang* (see next paragraph), is like saying that Payo Kumbueh has all the generals and Agam all the corporals, i.e. it is a humorous expression of the regional rivalry between Lima Puluh Kota and Agam. (Munin's audiences are, of course, predominantly from Lima Puluh Kota.) The idea of ships coming from either Payo Kumbueh or Agam is, of course, a joke.
69. A stereotyped view of Agam people, held by Lima Puluh Kota people. It is supported by the results of a survey conducted by Dr Mochtar Naim, according to which Agam has the highest 'intensity of *merantau*' (emigration) of all 10 principal areas of West Sumatra, while Lima Puluh Kota has almost the lowest. (Mochtar Naim, 1973, pp 242-244).
70. The dignitaries mentioned are *Tuan Kodi rang Padang Gontieng*, *Rajo Bosa di Paga Ruyuang*, *Tuek Maudun di Sumaniek*, and *Andomo di Suruaso*. For a discussion of their functions, see de Josselin de Jong, 1960, pp 102-107.
71. The hill traditionally associated with the beginnings of the Shailendra dynasty of Srivijaya. See Wilkinson s.v. *Seguntang*.
72. I.e. Santan Batapih herself.
73. I.e. *gajah maoram*. According to Wilkinson, a royal type of residence with seven pinnacles. See Wilkinson s.v. *gajah*.
74. Earlier in the story Tanau and Ruhun were spoken of as two islands.
75. See note 20 above. This is the only instance in the story of a tournament being used to find a husband.
76. A measure of volume. According to an informant in Payakumbuh, half a litre.

77. This and other subsequent examples of the parrot's cunning are reminiscent - in a general way, though not in detail - of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (see Winstedt, 1920). A magical parrot also plays a small role in the *Kaba Cindue Mato* - see Taufik Abdullah, 1970 p9.
78. *Nuri* = parrot. *Munjonun*, according to Munin, means 'to seek', but may be derived from *majnun* (mad).
79. The banners referred to (*marawa*) are narrow, tall and tapering, in fact quite like banana-leaves. They are illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, plate XXXVI, 5, 6 and 7.
80. A small pipe.
81. This is inconsistent, because Dandomi has already agreed to let both Nan Tungga and the parrot go to Tiku.
82. *Sambangan* is 'the name of a bird' (van der Toorn, *Woordenboek*). According to M Thaib's dictionary *timbangan* = *timbang*, which is a sea-bird.
83. Probably one of the genus *Ilex*.
84. The aptness of this simile for the sharply-pointed gables of a Minangkabau house may be seen from the illustrations in Van Hasselt's *Ethnographische Atlas* of a house (pl. XL) and a hanging fish-net (pl. CXXIV).
LX
85. It was inconsistent of Munin to treat Dandomi's discovery of the ring as a revelation, because in his version the parrot had told Dandomi about Gondorih before flying to Tiku. However, in another version of the story, so I was told, the parrot flies away from Ruhun after being released, without stopping to tell Dandomi about Nan Tungga's betrothal to Gondorih. In that version Dandomi's finding of the ring is, of course, a revelation. Munin seems to have included elements of both versions.
86. Probably refers to Socotra, well-known because it lies on the sea-route taken by pilgrims to Mecca. According to Shumovsky (1957, p 127) the island's Arabic name *Suqutra* is derived from the Sanskrit (*Dvipa*) *sukhatara*, 'most happy (island)', and it seems possible that the Minangkabau *Sikatoro* has the same derivation.
87. The same name was used earlier for one of Santan Batapih's friends (p 64).
88. This is an inconsistency in Munin's version of the story (if it is taken as a whole), because the parrot has already told Gondorih about Nan Tungga's marriage to Dandomi Sutan. Munin explained it to me by saying that Gondorih had either forgotten or disbelieved the parrot's original disclosure, but there is no hint of this in the story as he recited it. A better explanation might be that Munin himself had forgotten the parrot's first disclosure. In Juran's version (see p 125) the parrot does not tell Gondorih a second time.
89. A small, round vegetable related to the aubergine.
90. *Parkia speciosa*.

91. Evil spirits which lead humans, especially children, astray.
92. *Imperata cylindrica*.
93. Marriage is implied.
94. I.e they would get married.
95. Represented in Minangkabau by the sound *gut-tu-tu*. (The verb, to coo, is *bagutu* or *basigutu*). Such a dove is thought especially lucky and effective as a decoy.
Dove-snares are illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, plate CXX, 1 and 2.
96. A tall tree, *Pterospermum* spp.
97. Normally used for feeding animals.
98. Spurs and cases for spurs are illustrated in van Hasselt, 1881a, plate XLII, 1, 2 and 6.
99. The unit of money is not specified.
100. I.e. he would be humiliated by being offered dogs' food. Compare the reported practice of the Orang Abung of putting out bran in coconut shells to shame unsuccessful returning head-hunters, in G W J Drewes, 1961, p107.
101. Munin was slightly hesitant about relating this brief episode, because of its incestuous flavour. According to a version of the story known to Sawi (Sutan's teacher), Mandugombak returns to Ruhun and marries his mother by mistake, but the union is short-lived.
102. Two other variations in the plot of which I heard have already been mentioned in notes, namely: Mandugombak's marriage to Dandomi, and the parrot's flight from Ruhun to Tiku without first telling Dandomi about Nan Tongga's betrothal to Gondorlah. (See above, note 101, and note 85).
103. I am grateful for help on this point to Dr Khaidir Anwar. Two of the proverbs are: *Jan luruih tabueng*, 'Don't be as straight as a bamboo tube', i.e. 'Don't be naively honest'. *Mambuhue jan babuku, mauléh jan mangasan*, 'When you tie a knot, let it be flat; when you make a joint, don't let it show', i.e. 'Conceal what you are doing'.
104. Title given to men of religious learning. (e.g. Buya Hamka)
105. This impression gained from local informants is confirmed by Dr Khaidir Anwar who recalls, however, that 'Nan Gondo' was sometimes used to mean 'pretty girl'. As regards commercial uses, I saw two shops in Payakumbuh with names which may refer to the story: "Nan Tongga Beras", a rice-supplier, and "Tongga Motor" (founded, I learned, by a Chinese named Tong Ah). I was also told that the name *panau Nan Tongga* used to be given to pale discolourations of the skin caused by skin-disease. (On the importance of *wayang* characters in Java, see especially B R O'G Anderson, 1965.)
106. This was the experience of Dr Khaidir Anwar, who grew up in

Situjuh, near Payakumbuh, in the 1930s and 1940s. An interesting reference to *randai*, story-telling and other popular entertainments in Situjuh in the 1930s occurs on p62 of Dr Khaidir Anwar's article in *Sumatra Research Bulletin*, October 1974.

107. This was the case in the household in which Drs Waini Rasyidin, M.A., a contemporary of Dr Khaidir's, was brought up.
108. A similar apology is mentioned in the article by Dr Khaidir Anwar (1974, p62).
109. The Arabic phrase, meaning "In the name of God", which is uttered by Muslims beginning a piece of work, a journey, or other enterprise.
110. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr Khaidir Anwar. It accords with the view of Freud and others that laughter can serve as a release from restraint. See D H Monro, *Argument of Laughter*, pp 176-209.
111. It is not clear from the story whether Nan Tungga's uncle Katimongguengan is the same person as the legendary law-giver.

III

TWO PERFORMANCES OF *SIJOBANG*

The main contents of this chapter are transcriptions, with translations and notes, of two performances of *sijobang*. (The performances themselves can be heard on the cassette which accompanies this thesis.) The transcriptions are preceded by an introduction, in which linguistic, literary and musical aspects of *sijobang* are discussed under the following headings: music, metre, dialect, literary language, recurrent elements, parallelism, repetition, and *pantun*.

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC

1. Accompaniment

All but three *tukang sijobang* accompany their singing by beating the rhythms of the tunes on the floor-mat with a half-empty match-box, on which they also tap with the fingers of the right hand. Munin and As often reinforce this beat with regular but less frequent thumps of the knee against the floor. Three *tukang sijobang*, Nurman and his pupils Anas and Mansur, accompany themselves on the *kucapi*, keeping up a regular twanging which both marks the rhythm (maintaining it during pauses for breath) and reproduces fairly closely the tune being sung. The *kucapi* is also played for a few minutes to introduce and round off stints of singing.

2. Tunes

Munin regularly uses four tunes: *Lagu Angkék Pariaman* (or *Piaman*), *Lagu Sungai Tolang*, *Lagu Concang Munin* and *Lagu Piaman*. Less often he uses *Lagu Danéh*, *Lagu Concang Si Ana* and *Lagu Nólam Gando*. The first tune (*Lagu Angkék Piaman*) is a *lagu angkék pasombahan* (i.e. it is used to accompany *pantun pasombahan*, or preliminary *pantun*). The other six are *lagu curito*, 'story tunes'. Sometimes, as in Performance B, the singer begins to use a *lagu curito* before finishing the preliminary *pantun*. There follow brief descriptions of the six tunes most used by Munin. They can be heard on the cassette which accompanies this thesis.

a) Lagu Angkék Piaman. This tune does not have a strict rhythm and is not accompanied by taps of the match-box, except for a single beat at the end of some lines of the *pantun*. No filler syllables are used.

b) Lagu Sungai Tolang. This tune and *Concang Munin* are the two which Munin uses most. (It is also known as *Lagu Kaludan* and *Lagu Rasyid*, being attributed to the late *tukang sijobang* Rasyid.) It has a steady, rolling beat, marked by match-box taps and often by thumps with the knee. Since there are often more notes in a musical phrase than there are syllables in the corresponding line of words, the singer slurs some syllables over two or more notes, and also uses filler-syllables - most often *lai*, but also *kok*, *ko*, *ai*, *a*, *o* and *nan*. See, for example, Transcription A, lines 15-30 (fillers are bracketed).

c) Lagu Concang Munin. This tune, said to be Munin's own composition, has a jogging rhythm (*concang* means 'trot'), marked by match-box taps. Filler-syllables are rarely, if ever, used, because the number of notes per phrase corresponds closely to the number of syllables in the line.

d) Lagu Piaman. Like the *Lagu Angkék Piaman*, this tune has no strict rhythm, is not accompanied by regular taps of the match-box, and does not call for the use of fillers. It is used for relatively short passages, compared with the other *lagu curito*.

e) Lagu Danéh, which is named after a former *tukang sijobang*, is similar in rhythm to *Lagu Sungai Tolang*. It is distinguished by the use of fillers within words as well as between them, e.g. Transcription A, lines 282, 284, 285 and 289.

f) Lagu Concang Si Ana, also named after a former singer, has a jogging beat like *Concang Munin*, but is a little slower.

3. Use of tunes

Munin makes more use of *Lagu Sungai Tolang* and *Concang Munin* than of the other four *lagu curito*. This, and the fact that *Lagu Piaman* is used for relatively short passages, is illustrated by the following outline of a performance given by Munin. The number of preliminary *pantun* is rather small, probably because Munin was singing to a smallish audience in a

fellow-villager's house. In public performances, such as those in *lopau*, he usually spent more time on *pantun*.

<u>Tune</u>	<u>No. of lines</u>
Lagu Angkéék Piaman (<i>pantun</i>)	35
Lagu Danéh	48
Lagu Sungai Tolang	68
Concang Munin	65
Lagu Piaman	20
Lagu Sungai Tolang	109
Lagu Piaman	22
Concang Munin	56
Lagu Piaman	14
Lagu Sungai Tolang	44
Lagu Piaman	24
<hr/>	
505 (approx. 30 minutes)	

Apart from the restriction of *Lagu Angkéék Piaman* to the accompaniment of the opening *pantun*, Munin's choice of tunes does not seem to be consistently determined by the verbal content of what he is singing. If, for instance, we compare two performances by him of the same scene - the one in which Abang Salamat learns from Intan Korong that the ship is off Bintawai - we discover that the sequence of tunes used in one performance is quite different from that used in the other. On the other hand, in another pair of performances by Munin (both of the scene in which Nan Tungga persuades Dandomi to let him return to Tiku) the opening passages of the scene are, in each performance, accompanied by the same three tunes in the same order. This may be simply a coincidence (and since only a small number of tunes is used such coincidences are quite likely to occur); but it is also possible that, especially in such a popular episode, an experienced *tukang sijombang* may develop the habit of usually accompanying certain passages with the same tunes. I recorded only two such pairs of performances by Munin, and research into a larger body of material is needed before conclusions can be drawn.

When commenting on one of his recorded performances, Munin explained two instances of his use of *Lagu Piaman* by saying that the passage in question was *rusueh* (sad, troubled); however, as may be seen in the transcriptions later in this chapter, Munin does not consistently use

Lagu Piaman in this way. In general, he uses it more often than not to accompany passages which are not (as far as I can tell) *rusueh* in character. His pupil, As, also suggested that *Lagu Piaman* was appropriate for *rusueh* passages, and was slightly more consistent in so using it than Munin. However, my recordings of As amount to only about 2,000 lines, which is perhaps too little evidence to go on. Munin told me several times that he changed from one tune to another, not because it was demanded by the subject-matter, but because it helped his voice (he likened it to changing gear in order to keep an engine running at the right speed) and kept the audience interested. (Similarly, another *tukang sijobang*, Syaf, said that he changed from a fast tune to a slow one so as to save breath.) According to Munin, changes of tune should preferably be made at points where there is a change in the story, such as the beginning or end of a speech. In the performances of Munin's which I recorded, he followed this principle most of the time when changing to *Lagu Piaman*, but was less consistent when changing to the other *lagu curito* (e.g. Transcription A, lines 138, 278 and 343).

METRE

The stream of words sung by the *tukang sijobang* is composed of a succession of units of almost uniform length (nearly all are 8 or 9 syllables long). In this thesis they are transcribed as lines, one under the other, since this makes it easier to follow the parallel translations and facilitates the discussion of various literary features.¹ Each line coincides with a grammatical unit - a sentence, clause or phrase which, if spoken, could be followed by a mid-sentence or end-sentence pause. The lines also correspond to musical phrases in the tunes to which they are sung.

Discounting filler-syllables, about 95% of the lines in Munin's sung performances are either 9 or 8 syllables in length, and the other 5% are virtually all 10-syllable lines. These percentages are based on 974 lines (excluding *pantun*) taken from two performances. Details are shown in the table below, where the figures under 'A' refer to Transcription A in this chapter, and those under 'B' refer to a performance of *Ka Koto Bintawai*.

<u>Syllables per line</u>	<u>No. of lines</u>		<u>% of total lines</u>	
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
7	-	1	-	0.2
8	155	170	32.7	34.0
9	296	301	62.4	60.2
10	23	25	4.9	5.0
11	-	3	-	0.6
	474	500	100.0	100.0

The figures above conceal the fact that the number of syllables per line can be affected by the tune being used. With one of the two main tunes used by Munin, *Lagu Concang Munin*, the proportion of 8-syllable lines is higher than the average of about 33% shown in the table above. For example, the passage between lines 142 and 212 of Transcription A, which is sung to *Concang Munin*, contains about 56% of 8-syllable lines and 44% of 9-syllable lines. Similarly the proportion of 9-syllable lines sung to the other main tune, *Lagu Sungai Tolang*, is in fact higher than the average of about 61% given in the table.

In Munin's spoken recital, 8- and 9-syllable lines also preponderate, but not so heavily as in the sung performances (78.8% compared with about 95%). Lines of 7, 10 and 11 syllables form a larger proportion of the total than they do in the sung form (20% compared with 5.8%), and there are even a few 12- and 13-syllable lines. Detailed figures are given in the table below, which is based on 500 lines from Munin's recitation of *Ka Galanggang Nan Kodo Baha* and *Ka Koto Bintawai*.

<u>Syllables per line</u>	<u>No. of lines</u>	<u>% of total lines</u>
7	8	1.6
8	144	28.8
9	250	50.0
10	78	15.6
11	14	2.8
12	4	0.8
13	2	0.4
	500	100.0

The fact that the length of line varies more in the spoken form of *sijobang* may result from the absence of the constraint imposed by the tunes, which apparently favour the use of 8- and 9-syllable lines.²

DIALECT

Sijobang is performed in the Payakumbuh dialect of Minangkabau. This differs from standard Minangkabau³ in one main respect, namely that the vowel *o* occurs 1) in positions where standard Minang *a* corresponds to Indonesian *ə* (spelt *e*) and *ər* (spelt *er*), except in prefixes; 2) in some positions where Minang *a* corresponds to Indonesian *a*. For example:

	(Pyk.)	(St. Min.)	(Ind.)
1)	bori codiek	bari cadiek	beri cerdik
(but:	mambori	mambari	memberi
2)	oyah loju	ayah laju	ayah laju
(but:	payah baju	payah baju	payah baju

The language used by *tukang sijobang* when performing also shows traces of their local sub-dialects. For example, Munin, As, Sutan and Syaf use such forms as *lauk* and *auh* (Indonesian *laut* and *haus*), where *lauik*, *auih* etc. would be found in standard Minangkabau and in other sub-dialects of the Payakumbuh area. Not infrequently, however, Munin and the others employ the more widely used pronunciation (e.g. *lauik*) in their sung performances, though Munin only rarely did this when recording the story in spoken form. Munin also uses the forms *tinggih* and *titih*, where in standard Minangkabau *tinggi* and *titi* would be found. With these exceptions, Munin's language (which is that of the performances transcribed in this chapter) shares with standard Minangkabau the phonetic correspondences with Malay/Indonesian which are set out in the following table.⁴ The spellings, *ie*, *ue* and *ui* represent the glides *i^ə*, *u^ə*, and *uⁱ*, and the front vowel *e* is written *é*, to distinguish it from the *e* in the glides.

	(Standard Minangkabau)	(Indonesian)
1. Initial h:	ati	hati
2. Prefixes:	ma-, ba-, pa-, etc	me-, ber-, pe-, etc
3. Word-endings:	rajo	raja
	tiok	tiap
	katik	khatib
	iduik	hidup
	capék	cepat
	tabik	terbit
	lauik	laut
	améh	emas
	batih	betis
	auih	haus
	kana	kenal
	panggie	panggil
	batue	betul
	bana	benar
(but: laie	ilie	layar)
	talue	hilir
		telur
	pétak	petak
	lapiek	lapik
	masuek	masuk
	balam	balam
	musin	musi ^m
	minun	minum
	banang	benang
	malieng	maling
	ujueng	ujung
	rumah	rumah
	putieh	putih
	karueh	keruh

The above notes, combined with the glossary on pp 285-293 and the annotated translations should enable readers who know Malay/Indonesian to understand the transcriptions of *sijobang* which appear in this thesis.

LITERARY LANGUAGE

The language of *sijobang*, like that of *randai* and other *kaba*, is recognized locally as having a special, literary character. It differs from ordinary speech in many ways, but here the discussion will be confined to two aspects: vocabulary and grammar. The vocabulary of *sijobang* overlaps that of daily speech to a large extent, but includes a number of words which are not in colloquial use, and excludes some which are. The following are examples of non-colloquial words found in *sijobang*:

aluran	concerning	baimpun	to assemble
andai	speech	dénai	I, me
curaikan	explain	limbak	besides

(Two of the above words, *aluran* and *limbak*, occur in daily speech as nouns, but are used as prepositions in *sijobang*.) A common colloquial word excluded from *sijobang* is *mangécék*, 'to speak', (though *kécék*, 'speech', is used). According to Munin, it would sound wrong (*jongga*) and be out of keeping (*indak saimbang jo curito*), because *sijobang* is 'not modern'. *Sijobang* also contains a sprinkling of words which seem not to be generally understood - informants either did not know them, or interpreted them in different ways (some of the words may indeed differ in meaning from place to place). These words refer to matters unfamiliar to ordinary local people today, for example, ships, weapons and princesses' apartments. Thus *palangko* (a part of the ship, where Salamat carries out his observations) was interpreted as both an upright post and a cross-beam; *si bontuek olang* (probably a medium-length sword) was confused by some with *olang* meaning eagle; and *orong-orong* (part of the *anjueng*) was interpreted in various ways.

With regard to grammar, *sijobang* differs from ordinary speech in having a higher proportion of complex sentences (i.e. with two or more clauses), and a greater tendency to place subordinate clauses before main ones. Some sentences in *sijobang* are quite long and complicated compared with daily speech; for examples, see Transcription A lines 104-110, 158-168, 368-375, and Transcription B lines 202-209, 494-501, 619-630. *Sijobang* is also unlike daily speech in having sentences which begin with quite lengthy vocative expressions, such as:

O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
rajo rang Tiku Pariaman, (Trans. B 542-543)

(Lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
ruler of the people of Tiku Pariaman,)

Finally the phraseology of *sijobang* is characterised by a certain wordiness (compared with colloquial speech). This results from the use of pairs of synonyms, and of adjectives and adverbial phrases, in a way which would be redundant, and even tautological, in ordinary discourse. The examples which follow are taken from transcriptions A and B.

Synonyms: kaue jo cinto dalam ati,
niat mukosuk ambo kini, (A 52-53)

(the wish and longing in my heart,
my present aim and purpose,)

Rundieng tobik pakobaran, (A 359)
(Words and speech were uttered,)

bulieh mbo sobuk mbo curaikan. (B 186)
(let me speak and explain.)

itu sobob karononyo, (B 519)
(that is the cause and the reason,)

Adjectives: étén di dalam dondang panjang, (A 18)
(yonder in the long ship,)

paménan anjueng nan tinggi, (B 260)
(darling of the high *anjueng*,)

Adverbial phrases: kato Nan Tungga maso itu. (A 248)
(said Nan Tungga at that time.)

kato Dandomi tongah rumah. (B 168)
(said Dandomi in the house.)

It may well be that such otiose and pleonastic expressions have come into use in *sijobang* for metrical reasons - the need to fill up the 9-syllable line. A B Lord (1960, p34) has shown how this happened in Yugoslav oral epic, and there are many other examples of prosodic patterns apparently

influencing poetic language (Finnegan, 1977, pp 109-110). On the other hand, due weight must be given to Finnegan's argument (*op.cit.* p110) that "It would be a mistake to explain special poetic language *solely* as a result of the pressure of formal requirements. There is also a sense in which special linguistic forms produce a specific effect, by helping to set a frame around a poem, to put it in italics as it were, and to remove it from ordinary life and language." She adds that a special form of language may be "the more important with oral poetry in that the separation from everyday activity must inevitably rely on means other than the interposition of writing. "

In addition, some of these expressions, especially the frequently-recurring combinations of noun and adjective like *dondang panjang* and *anjung tinggi*, can be explained as forming part of the *tukang sijobang*'s stock of set phrases or 'formulae', discussed below in the section on Recurrent Elements.

RECURRENT ELEMENTS

The experience of transcribing tens of thousands of lines of *sijobang* impresses clearly on one the fact that many elements - from phrases, lines, couplets and clusters of lines to whole scenes - recur in different places, sometimes in unaltered form, often in different forms adapted to different contexts. Similar features have been observed in other forms of oral literature (see Bowra, 1952, ch.6, Finnegan, 1977, ch.3), one of the best-known instances being that of Yugoslav oral epic, discussed in A B Lord's *The Singer of Tales*. According to Lord's thesis, the 'formulae' and 'themes' (recurring phrases, grammatical patterns and scenes) of a particular poetic tradition are gradually assimilated by the singer until they form a stock of material, which he draws on and adapts as he sings. The singer does not memorize the entire story *verbatim* before singing it, nor does he create a totally original poem at each performance - a feat which would require phenomenal virtuosity. Rather he composes it - relying to a greater or lesser extent on his stock of phrases, lines and themes - as he performs it, and recomposes it to some degree every time he performs it. This explains how singers are able, without special preparation beforehand, to perform poems several thousand lines in length at the rate of 10-20 ten-syllable lines per minute; and why a singer's performances of the 'same' story differ from one occasion to the next. (Formulae may also serve to make an oral performance easier to listen to, as Bowra suggested (1952, p226).)

Tukang sijobang also sing poetry for long, unbroken periods without preparation and at speeds which leave little time for thought (about 15-20 lines a minute), and their performances also change from one occasion to another. Whether formulae and themes play as important a part in *sijobang* as in Yugoslav oral epic can only be shown by further research, in particular by the process of formula analysis (which is beyond the scope of this thesis).⁵ However, even the number of recurrent elements which I have observed so far is large enough to serve as at least a useful resource for the *tukang sijobang*. This and the variation between performances (described in detail in Chapter IV) suggest that the *tukang sijobang*'s technique of composition and performance is in principle similar to the 'oral composition' of the Yugoslav *guslar*.

The recurrent elements found in *sijobang* range in length from parts of lines up to whole scenes.

1. Part-lines, lines and couplets

These elements recur in three main ways - by repetition, by substitution, and by recombination.

a. Repetition: Many part-lines are repeated unchanged in different contexts. The following are examples (capital letters and numbers refer to lines in transcriptions in this chapter):

tobiklah andai... A 22

(words were spoken...)

étén di dalam... A 18

(yonder in...)

There are also a number of "fixed epithets" (cf. Bowra, 1952, pp 222-226), e.g. *lauk godang* (great ocean) and *laman panjang* (long court-yard).

Many lines and couplets are also repeated unchanged:

nan sakarang iko kini B 563

(at present)

olun ka sonang ati tuan A 206

(you will not yet be content)

kalau itu tuan parésó,

buliehlah pulo mbo torangkan. A 38-39

(if that is what you ask,

then I can explain.)

b. Substitution: Not only are such expressions useful in themselves, being capable of appearing in various contexts, but many of them also belong to productive patterns, or systems (cf. Lord, 1960, p 35), i.e. they can be varied by the substitution of either synonyms (which give the singer a choice of ways to express the same thing) or other words (which allow him to use one pattern for more than one purpose). These patterns, like those which make up the grammar of a language, constitute the grammar of the special, limited language of *sijobang* (cf. Lord, 1960, pp 35-36). Some examples follow:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| i. | tobiklah
tibolah
datanglah | | andai
rundieng | (words were spoken) |
| ii. | étén di | | dalam
atéh
tongah | (yonder in)
(yonder on)
(yonder in the middle of) |
| iii. | kato
rundieng
andai | | Nan Tungga
Salamat
Dandomi
etc. | dalam dondang
tongah rumah
ka Si Santan
maso itu |
| | (said | | Nan Tungga
Salamat
Dandomi
etc. | in the ship
in the house
to Santan
at that time) |
| iv. | tontangan
aluran
agaklah | | diri badan kito
diri badan mamak
diri Madugombak
etc. | |
| | (with regard
to | | ourselves
yourself, uncle
Mandugombak
etc.) | |
| v. | olun ka sonang | | ati tuan
ati buyueng
dalam ati | |
| | (you will not yet
be content | | sir
young man
at heart) | |
| vi. | kalau itu | | tuan
oncu
etc. | paréso,
tanyokan, |
| | buliehlah pulo | | ambo
dénai | curaikan.
torangkan.
bilang. etc. |
| | (if that is what | | you, sir,
you, lady, etc. | ask
enquire |
| | then I can | | explain
tell, etc.) | |

The substitution of synonyms within an unaltered grammatical framework is exemplified in numerous couplets, in which the sense and structure of the first line is echoed in the second, but with changes in vocabulary. This feature of *sijobang* is discussed below in a separate section headed Parallelism.

c. Recombination: A third type of recurrent element are pairs or larger groups of words which regularly occur in combination with each other and are combined in different constructions according to need. The following are examples:

i. kombanglah batin nan talotak A 32
(unfold the concealed secret)

batin talotak k' ambo kombang A 50
(the concealed secret I shall unfold)

ii. sodang salosai kusuik sajo B 126
(what was straight is now suddenly tangled)

pobilo kusuk tu lah salosai B 393
(when the tangled has been straightened)

2. Runs

Recurrent clusters of lines or couplets (runs), are common in *sijobang*. They vary in length and stability, longer runs being naturally less stable. The first example below is of two instances of a short and fairly stable run describing the assembling of a crowd (both instances are taken from Munin's narrated version).

A
Nan dari ilie olahlah mudiek,
nan dari mudiek olahlah ilie,
nan dari bukik lah manurun,
nan dari lurah lah mandaki,
laki-laki parumpuan,
kéték gödang tuo mudo,

(Those from downstream went
upstream,
those from upstream went
downstream,
those from the hills descended,
those from the valleys climbed up,
men and women,
small and great, old and young,)

B
godang kéték tuo mudo,
laki-laki parumpuan,
nan dari ilie baköja mudiek,
nan dari mudiek balolah ilie,
nan dari bukik lah mahurun,
nan dari lurah lah mandaki,

(great and small, old and
young,
men and women,
those from downstream raced
upstream,
those from upstream hurried downstream,
those from the hills descended,
those from the valleys limbed up,)

As can be seen, the run just cited was put together on both occasions

from three couplets, but the sequence of the couplets changed, and there were slight variations in the wording of three of the lines, e.g. the substitution of *bakoja* and *balolah* for *olahlah*.

Like the other formulaic elements mentioned, runs can not only be repeated, but can also be adapted for use in different contexts. Common incidents (meetings and partings, the asking and giving of names, the entering and leaving of houses, and the giving of hospitality) naturally need to be adapted to fit the different people and places involved. The example below (which also illustrates the greater variation found in longer runs) is a run which usually expresses admiration for Nan Tungga's good looks, but on one occasion is applied to the parrot Munjonun. Both instances are taken from Munin's narration. In column A the speaker^{er} is Tombi Bosa's maid, in B it is Gondorih's maid.

A

Lah patuk anso takojuk,
lah patuk burueng taboba.
Rajo di malah ko nan tibo?
Sutan di mano ko nan di laman?
Soriklah sutan saélok ko,
olun lai rajo sajumbang ko.
Ontahpun cucue dari langik,
ontah mambosuk dari bumi,
ontah kok sutan di kayangan.

B

Lah patuk anso mamokiek,
lah patuk ayam dék bakukuek.
Nuri di makoh nan tibo?
Burueng sialah ko nan datang?
Olun lai nuri sarancak ko,
soriklah burueng satompan ko.
Jumbang ka paménan ati,
rintang pamujuek rindu.

(No wonder the geese were startled,
no wonder the birds scattered.
Where does this prince come from?
From whence is this sultan in
the courtyard?
Few sultans are so fine,
no prince has ever been so
handsome.
Did he pour down from the sky,
did he spurt out of the earth,
or is he a prince from heaven?)

(No wonder the geese honked,
no wonder the cock crowed.
Where does this parrot come from?
Whose bird is this which has arrived?
No parrot has ever been so beautiful,
Few birds are so fair.
Beautiful enough to be someone's
darling,
a constant solace for longing.)

(Examples of runs can also be found in the transcriptions in this chapter. See for instance A 26-28, 169-179, 356-358, 526-531.)

3. Scenes

The largest recurring elements in *sijobang* are a number of scenes of varying length ('themes' in Lord's terminology). The commonest such scene is the summoning of the winds, which takes place eight times. Other scenes of comparable length are Nan Tungga's reunions with his four uncles, his three fights, his two contests in the arena, the three occasions when a girl oils and combs her hair and gets dressed, and the two scenes in which someone is woken up with difficulty. Like runs, the repeated scenes are similar in essential outline, but can vary considerably in length and content from one occurrence to another. How greatly they can vary in length may be seen by comparing two of the scenes in which the three ancestral guns are fired (in Munin's narrated version). On one occasion, at Tanau, the first two guns are aimed towards Tiku and Pasisie, messages are sent to Gondorlah and Intan Korong, and their reactions are described. Then the third gun is fired at Maudun's mosque in order to rouse him. The whole scene is about 350 lines long. By contrast, in another scene in which the guns are fired (after the ship has returned to Tiku), they are aimed towards Gondorlah's house, Pasisie and Ruhun, no messages are sent (the main purpose being to wake Gondorlah), and the scene is only about 120 lines long.

A second example, below, shows much less variation. Column A contains a summary of the arguments used on both sides when Nan Tungga seduces Dayang Daini. In column B are the arguments used when, in a similar scene, Alam Tansudin seduces Gondorlah. Most of the arguments are identical (though they are deployed in a different order) and only one of those used by Gondorlah (her second) could not have been used by Dayang Daini. The two scenes, both from Munin's narration, are similar in length: A is about 135 lines, B about 150.

A

NT: Come with me. You will be looked after by maids and bathe in a magic bathing-place.

DD: I am unworthy of you. You will lose face. If you already have a fiancée, you will neglect me. I shall suffer disappointment.

NT: If I had a fiancée, I would not have gone to sea.

DD: Seek another - there are many to choose from.

NT: Come, or I shall kill you.

B

AT: Come with me. You will be looked after by maids and bathe in a magic bathing-place.

G: I am unworthy of you. If you already have a fiancée, you will neglect me.

AT: If I had a fiancée, I would not come here. If my wish is not granted, I shall be desolate. If you come, we will get married.

G: Don't be too sure. The owner may come seeking his possession.

AT: Don't worry about difficulties which may not arise.

DD: Don't be hasty. I was testing you. I will gladly come.

G: You will lose face. Seek another - there are many to choose from.

AT: Come, or I shall kill you.

G: Don't be hasty. I was testing you. I will gladly come.

PARALLELISM

When reading a transcription of *sijobang*, one notices how frequently there occur pairs of lines, in which the sense of the first line is repeated in fresh words in the second. (Sometimes the meaning changes slightly, but the general sense is repeated; and the words in the second lines are not all new - some may be repeated from the first.) Such parallel pairs may be divided into two main types:

- 1) Those in which both sense and structure are repeated;
- 2) Those in which the sense is repeated but the structure is changed.

The examples below are taken from Transcription A:

Sense and structure repeated:

bukan mbo ka salah tanyo,
olun badan ka salah sudi, (26-27)
(I shall not make offensive enquiries,
nor shall I ask offensive questions,)

Kombanglah batin nan talotak,
bukaklah raik nan tasimpan, (32-33)
(Unfold the concealed secret,
disclose the hidden mystery,)

Ambo barumah topi jalan,
dénai bakampueng topi lobueh, (62-63)
(I have a house at the roadside,
I have a homestead at the wayside,)

Sense repeated, structure changed:

Santan pikie dalam-dalam,
cubolah inok pamonuengkan. (92-93)
(Think carefully, Santan,
ponder and consider well.)

Jo alah utang k' ambo baie?
Salah lah bédo ka manimbang. (102-103)
(How should I discharge the debt?
It would be difficult to pay for the offence.)

Baduto-duto nyo bakoba,
 bakicueh rundieng dék tan Tungga: (218-219)
 (He spoke deceitfully,
 Lord Tungga uttered falsehoods:)

Parallelism of this kind is a feature of many forms of oral literature, and much has been written, both about its practical advantages in compensating for the ephemeral nature of orally performed literature, and about its literary and aesthetic effect (Finnegan, pp 128-131). Parallelism in *sijobang* ensures that the story proceeds at a leisurely pace and that much of it is stated twice in different words. In this way it probably does serve to counteract somewhat both the transiency of the performance and the problems of noise and inattention. Munin gave a different explanation, namely that this kind of repetition was helpful to those who did not understand all the words in *sijobang* - what was obscure at first would become plain when repeated in different words - and this too may have some truth in it. That parallelism in *sijobang* has some connection with its oral mode of delivery is suggested by the fact that in a sample of about 500 lines from Transcription B (lines 73-574), 186 lines, or about 37%, consist of parallel pairs; whereas in the printed *kaba*, *Rantjak Dilabueh* (Johns's edition), the first 505 lines include only 40 such pairs of lines, i.e., about 8%. However, the subject is clearly in need of further research before firm conclusions are drawn.

With regard to the aesthetic appeal of parallelism in oral poetry, Finnegan suggests (p 131) that this and other forms of repetition in poetry give pleasure by virtue of the 'aesthetics of regularity'. As to *sijobang*, I saw no obvious signs that parallelism was enjoyed or even noticed by audiences. However, an aspect of it which Munin was evidently conscious of was the rich vocabulary and capacity for variety of expression (*koba panjang*, 'lengthy speech') which parallelism demands. Munin said that *koba panjang* was a virtue in a *tukang sijobang*, and when I raised the subject he would reel off synonyms (for example: *kato*, *rundieng*, *tutue*, *koba*, *andai* and *kécék* for 'speech') and once jokingly used *koba panjang* in ordinary conversation. My assistant, Sdr Syamsuhir, was of the opinion that *tukang sijobang* in general took pride in this ability; and sometimes, while helping me to transcribe from tape, he would comment critically if the *tukang sijobang* did not vary his vocabulary

sufficiently in the second line of a parallel pair. On the other hand, he said that it was a shortcoming which hardly anyone in the audience would notice. The aesthetic appeal of parallelism in *sijobang*, therefore seems to lie in the variety of expression which it demands, rather than in the repetition of sense or structure; and its enjoyment may be limited to a small circle of *cognoscenti*, mainly *tukang sijobang*.

REPETITION

In addition to the special form of repetition found in parallelism, the iteration of sections of narrative and dialogue is a pervasive feature of *sijobang* style. For example, a statement is made by one character to another, who not long afterwards repeats it to a third at considerable length, if not in full; or an order is given, relayed to someone else, and then described being performed. One of many instances of this occurs in a sung performance by Munin: Abang Salamat is informed by Intan Korong (in about 80 lines) that the promontory in sight is that of Bintawai, that the place is ruled by the unjust and merciless Tombi Bosa, and that he has three prisoners who originally came from Tiku Pariaman. After explaining to Intan Korong that the prisoners may be three of Nan Tungga's uncles, for whom they are searching, Abang Salamat goes to Nan Tungga and repeats what Intan Korong has told him, this time in about 40 lines. In another, briefer example from a performance by Munin, Alam Tansudin is described (in about 12 lines) as feeling pensive and worried and deciding to go and snare doves to dispel his cares. He calls his servant and tells him of these feelings and his desire to go and snare doves, this time at slightly greater length (about 17 lines). A third example shows how the repetitive style features in both narrative and dialogue. It is taken from another performance by Munin, here presented in summarised form:

Nan Tungga's ship reaches home at midnight. Abang Salamat wakes Nan Tungga, saying, "Wake up. It is midnight. The ship has reached home." Nan Tungga wakes and asks, "Why have you woken me in the middle of the night? Have pirates attacked?" Salamat: "No, pirates have not attacked. We have reached Piaman. What orders do you have for me?" Nan Tungga: "Since we have reached Piaman, although it is midnight, I am glad. To mark our return from overseas, rouse the 300 and tell them to play *robab*, *kucapi*, violins and *bénsi*. Let us make

merry." Salamat goes to the quarters of the 300 and calls to them to wake, saying that the ship has reached Piaman. The 300 are thrown into confusion and ask: "Why have you called us? Is there an enemy to fight, or a tree blocking the way?" Salamat: "Do not be anxious. Pirates have not attacked, nor is there a tree blocking the way. The ship has returned to Piaman. I asked Nan Tungga for orders, and he commanded that all of us should make merry, to mark our return from the sea. Play gongs, *calémpong*, *robab*, *kucapi* and *bénsi*." The 300 play gongs, *calémpong*, *robab*, *kucapi* and *bénsi* and make a great noise with clapping and shouting, to mark their return from the sea.

Some of the repetition in the last example is caused by the use of formulaic sequences, or runs. For example, it is a stock response in *sijobang* for someone being woken up to ask if pirates are attacking. The use of this formula by Nan Tungga and the 300 compels Salamat to repeat his statement that the ship has reached Piaman. Moreover, repetition is built into the formulae themselves: Salamat's stock reply to the stock question put by the 300 is itself repetitive, repeating the content of their question ("Pirates have not attacked, nor is there a tree blocking the way"). The same is true of several other question-and-answer formulae; see, for example, Transcription B, where Dandomi's stock question (lines 136-141) is repeated in Nan Tungga's stock reply (lines 177-180); and Nan Tungga's stock question (270-272) is repeated in slightly different words in Dandomi's stock answer (280-281).

Repetition of the kind just described is perhaps most readily explained as a means, like parallelism, of counteracting the transiency of the oral medium. (It is probably significant that the printed edition of *Rantjak Dilabueh* is virtually devoid of repetition.) I did not notice any signs that this kind of repetition is aesthetically valued by *tukang sijobang* or their audiences. Except in the case of certain repetitive question-and-answer formulae, it does not display the balanced duplication of structure and sense found in parallelism, and so does not share whatever aesthetic appeal parallelism may have in this respect. However, more evidence is needed before the aesthetic value of this aspect of *sijobang* for the Minangkabau can be confidently stated.

PANTUN

This section outlines the uses and forms of *pantun* in *sijobang*, with particular reference to the transcriptions in this thesis.

1. Uses

Pantun are sung at various points in a *sijobang* performance: as *pantun pasombahan* before the story; to mark the beginning, resumption or end of a stint of singing; as part of the dialogue or narrative itself. These three uses are briefly discussed below.

a) Pantun pasombahan. The functions of these *pantun* have been mentioned in chapter I (p 6). In the performances which I recorded the main types were love *pantun* (*pantun mudo*), *pantun* expressing modesty and respect to the audience, and *pantun* about fate and misfortune. Some belong to more than one type.

i) A number of love *pantun* compare the pangs of unsatisfied love to an illness. One such is in Transcription B, 29-31 (although on that occasion it was used to express a different meaning, as explained in the notes to the transcription).

The love *pantun* which I heard most often (from three different *tukang sijobang*) was the following, which compares the frustrated lover to a bird which is prevented from eating the drying rice-grains because someone is guarding them.

Luruhi jalannyo Ujueng Guguek,
 ilie ka ronah Tanjueng Alam,
 taontak ka Bukik Apik,
 tingga di léréng pandakian;
 tangih kumbang bulieh mak pujuek,
 bungo layue dapék disiram,
 bak alah ratok burueng pipik!
 Jomue takoka baunian, laiii

(Straight is the road to Ujueng Guguek,
 downstream to the region of Tanjueng Alam,
 comes up against Bukik Apik,
 stays on the slope of the hill;
 the bee's tears you can console,
 the fading flower can be watered,
 but how the finch laments!
 The rice spread out to dry is being watched.)

ii) *Pantun* showing modesty and respect are exemplified by the two *pantun* at the beginning of Transcription A, and the first two in Transcription B. The following additional example is from a performance by Sutan, who was still a learner.

Si cêrék jolong babuah,
 nan babuah tolong runduekkan,
 runduek nak sampai nyo ka tanah;
 badan kéték baru baraja, tuek,
 kok salah tolong tunjuekkan,
 alieh dék datuek kéh nan bana.

(The *si cêrék* has fruited for the first time,
 please bend down those which have fruited,
 so that they bend right down to the ground;
 I am young and only learning, sirs,
 if I go wrong please point it out,
 turn me, sirs, towards what is right.)

The image of the bending plant helps to convey the modesty of the singer.

iii) Some examples of *pantun* about fate and misfortune can be seen in Transcription B, 13-20, 23-28, 40-45 and 60-63. Another which I heard several times was this:

Ja lai dilompék batu bolah,
 di baliek lurah pandakian;
 ja lai tan upék gorak Allah,
 rotak lah sudah jo bagian.

(Do not leap over the split rock,
 beyond the valley is a hill;
 do not blame Allah's decree,
 your fate and portion have been determined.)

b) Opening and closing *pantun*. The beginning or resumption of the story is often marked by the singing of certain *pantun*. One of these can be found in Transcription B, 64-70. Two further examples follow:

Pandan sajo nan di rimbo,
 manitih pamatang toman;
 badan sajo nan di siko,
 angan di Tikur Pariaman.

(Only the screwpine is in the forest,
walk along the ridge;
only our bodies are here,
our thoughts are in Tiku Pariaman.)

Dulanglah sadulang lai,
pandulang oméh Palangko;
nak diulang saulang lai,
mbo jopuk nan tingga cako.

(Wash another panful,
a gold-washing pan from Palangko;
it shall be told another time,
I shall pick up what was unfinished just now.)

The *pantun* which mark the end of a stint are often adapted to the context. See, for instance, the *pantun* at the end of Transcription A (lines 548-553), and the following, from a scene in which Nan Tungga argues with Dandomi Sutan:

Dirontang bonang sataie,
uléhlah suto jo kulindan;
mantaro Dandomi bapikie,
rundieng di situ wak tinggakan.

(A tael of thread is stretched out,
join the silk to the yarn;
while Dandomi thinks,
I leave the story there.)

c) *Pantun* in the story. These occur more in dialogue than in the course of the narrative. One which recurs in several different narrative passages is this *pantun* describing a respectful greeting, such as that given to Nan Tungga by Abang Salamat:

Dari dusun ka Situjueh,
si rauk paruncieng kalam;
disusun jari nan sapulueh,
sombah saroto jo salam.

(From the hamlet to Situjueh,
a knife for sharpening a pen;
he put his ten fingers together,
and gave homage together with greeting.)

Pantun in dialogue are generally said to be one of the most amusing and interesting features of *sijobang*, especially when the dialogue is subtly flirtatious. Examples may be found in Transcription A, 44-47 and 134-137. The following further examples are from Munin's spoken version of the same scene:

Sumangék dondang nan panjang,
paménan laie nan tujueh;
bungo di Tanau sodang kombang,
gugue tampuek lai ka jatueh.

Sumangék laie nan tujueh,
pamuncak koto rang Tiku;
gugue tampuek bungo ka jatueh,
nak taubék ati nan ragu.

(Brightness of the long ship,
favourite of the seven sails;
the flower of Tanau is blooming,
when the stem drops it is sure to fall.

Brightness of the seven sails,
sovereign of the people of Tiku;
when the stem drops the flower will fall,
that doubting hearts may find a cure.)

Although *pantun* are usually thought of as occurring in amorous dialogues (it was, I think, for this reason that Munin once told me that *pantun* should not be used in *sijobang* in conversation between characters of different generations), yet they are sometimes heard in dialogue of a non-amorous nature. For example, one quatrain which is used more than once by those bewailing their misfortune is the following:

Oméh bataie ko daulu,
kini lah loyang pangikiran;
palawan dunie ko di Tiku,
kini dibao pambagian.

(Many taels of gold formerly,
now filings of brass;
in Tiku I was the family champion,
now I am at the mercy of fate.)

2. Form.

a) Length. In the material I have recorded, the great majority of the *pantun* are quatrains, a good number are six lines long, there are a handful of 8-line and one example each of 10-, 12- and 14-line *pantun*. There is also a small number of 5-, 7- and 11- line *pantun*, with a missing line, such as Transcription B 29-39.

As regards length of line, out of a sample of 230 lines from *pantun pasombahan* sung by Munin, about 70% are of 9 syllables, 28% of 8 syllables and 2% of 10. This shows a greater preponderance of 9-syllable over 8-syllable lines than in the story itself, perhaps because the tune which seems to favour 8-syllable lines, *Concang Munin*, is not used for *pantun pasombahan*.

b) Gurindam. Certain *pantun* occurring in the body of the story (though not in the *pantun pasombahan*) are unusual in that the first half conveys the sense as directly as the second half, instead of serving only to foreshadow it in sound, and sometimes in meaning. Verse^s_l of this type, which some *tukang sijobang* call *gurindam*, are never, in my experience, longer than four lines. Examples may be seen in Transcription A 94-101 and B 288-295, and a pair of such quatrains were quoted earlier in this section as examples of obliquely flirtatious *pantun* (see p161). *Gurindam* quite often form the first four lines of a speech, as in Transcription A 145-148, B 170-173 and 275-278.

c) Pantun Berkait. Four-line *pantun* linked together by repeated lines in the pattern a b a b, b c b c, c d c d, and so on, were sung in several performances which I recorded, most often as introductory *pantun* but also in the story itself. The longest sequence was six quatrains. One example (in which, however, the repeated lines have undergone some variation) is the pair of quatrains already cited in this section as an example of flirtatious *pantun*. Another example, which shows the pattern of repetition more clearly, is the following introductory *pantun*:

Bomban sajo nan di rimbo,
 kombanglah bungo dalam kobun;
 badan dén sajo nan di siko,
 dunie ka toluek Bondue Ruhun.

Kombanglah bungo dalam kobun,
 capo di tongah laman panjang;
 dunie di toluek Bondue Ruhun,
 di tongah rumah nan godang.

(Only the *bomban*⁷ is in the forest,
 a flower blooms in the garden;
 only my body is here,
 the story moves to the bay of Ruhun.

A flower blooms in the garden,
 a *capo*⁸ in the middle of the long court-yard;
 the story is at the bay of Ruhun,
 in the middle of the great house.)

TRANSCRIPTIONS

TRANSCRIPTION A

The first transcription is of a performance by Munin of the scene usually referred to as *Santan Batapih di dondang* (Santan Batapih in the ship), which occurs in the episode *Ka Tanau*. (It can be found on pp 61-63 in the summary of Munin's narration of the story.) The scene consists mainly of a conversation between Santan Batapih and Anggun Nan Tungga on his ship, during which she persuades him to come ashore and visit her house. It is apparently one of the best-liked scenes, for audiences enjoy the combination of Santan Batapih's obliquely flirtatious advances and Nan Tungga's attempts to evade her by trickery.

The performance transcribed here was given by Munin in his own house on the evening of 7th December 1974. The audience were 15 or 20 of Munin's family and neighbours who had listened for an hour or more as Munin recorded his recited version of an earlier part of the story (Taking Intan Korong home), and now asked that he should sing, because it was more entertaining. How it was decided which part of the story should

be sung, I do not know. While Munin was singing, members of the audience sometimes sniggered and exchanged smiles, and I learned afterwards (my knowledge of Minangkabau being insufficient at the time of the performance) that they were laughing at the *mudo* (amorous) passages. Normally, so Munin told me on another occasion, he preferred not to sing such passages in his family's presence.

The 553 lines transcribed here represent one continuous stint of 35 minutes' singing, which ended with a pause for refreshment. (After that pause, Munin sang a second and final stint of about 20 minutes (350 lines), in which he described how Nan Tungga and Santan Batapih rowed ashore and walked to her house, and Nan Tungga was welcomed by Santan's maids. The second stint is not transcribed here.)

The punctuation of the Minangkabau transcription does not indicate pauses in the singing (except in the case of the semi-colon half-way through each *pantun*, which corresponds with a pause if the *Lagu Angkék Piaman* is used). It is intended to show (as an aid to understanding the text) what I interpret as the main divisions in the sense. The English translation has been punctuated so as to mirror the Minangkabau. The names of tunes are given in brackets opposite the lines in which they begin. Filler-syllables are bracketed.

(Lagu angkék
Piaman)

Lusueh kulindan suto kusus,
sodang tajélo atéh karok,⁹
lusueh di pétak rang Malako;
sungguéh kok bolun tolan tuntuk,
5 umpamo kojo tukang kakok,
niat sangajo iko juo aiii.

Donga sabuahlah dék tolan:

Kok lai¹¹ ka bulieh kami baporak,
racik¹² nan sodang tongah ari,
10 timbakau urang ampai pulo;
kok lai ka bulieh kami bakondak,
babaliek sonjolah ko ari,
dunie nak lamo jo rang siko aiii.¹⁴

Aiii

(Lagu 15 rundieng nan tidak (lai) do¹⁵ kan sudah,
Sungai andai nan ja lai¹⁶ dipapanjang.¹⁷
Tolang) (O) rundieng sodang (lai) jo rang Tanau,
étén di dalam dondang panjang,
(o) jo diri Santan Batapih;
20 sodang batutue jo Nan Tungga,
kotu barundieng (lai) jo si Santan,
tobiklah andai (lai) dék Tungga:

"O nan jumbang Santan Batapih,
sumarak toluek koto Tanau,
25 kito batomu (lai) sakali ko;
(kok) bukan mbo ka salah tanyo,
olun badan ka salah sudi,
Santan jan salah tarimo.
Dék lai¹⁸ tibo Santan di dondang,
30 mulo ka sampai (lai) kau ka mari,
apo nan niat dalam ati?
Kombanglah batin (lai) nan talotak,
bukaklah raik nan tasimpan,
nak jan dibimbang (lai) ragu kini,"
35 rundieng Nan Tungga Anggun Sudah.

(O) manjawab dunie si Santan:¹⁹

Worn is the thread, the silk is tangled,
 trailed over the heddles,
 worn in the room of the Malaccan;
 although, my friends, you have not asked me to,
 5 like a workman performing his task,
 this is just what I want to do.

Hear one, friends:

If I might work my plot,
 slicing at mid-day,
 10 people spread out tobacco too;
 if I might have my wish,
 this evening would turn back to dusk again,
 so that I could long enjoy your company.

Aiii

15 The story will not be finished,
 let not my words be protracted.
 The story is with her of Tanau,
 yonder in the long ship,
 with Santan Batapih;
 20 she was talking to Nan Tungga,
 he was conversing with Santan,
 Nan Tungga spoke:

"O Santan Batapih the fair,
 glory of the bay of Tanau,
 25 this is the first time we have met;
 I shall not make offensive enquiries,
 nor shall I ask offensive questions,
 do not take it amiss, Santan.
 That you have come to the ship,
 30 the reason you have arrived here,
 what is the purpose in your heart?
 Unfold the concealed secret,
 disclose the hidden mystery,
 lest I be made anxious by uncertainty,"
 35 said Anggun Nan Tungga.

Santan answered playfully:

"Mano tuek²⁰ mudo (lai) jonyo ambo,
 kalau itu tuan parésó,
 buliehlah pulo (kok) mbo torangkan.

40 (Kan) lah kombang bungo kunari,
 karucuik daun atéh lalang;
 bamulo datang (lai) mbo ka mari,
 godang mukosuk (lai) nan ambo jalang.

(o) si posan jatueh baréndo,
 45 tatimpo d' atéh daun lalang;
 (o) baposan Santan nan tido,
 bakaue mbo manyurueh datang.

Niat sangajo ambo tibo,
 raik tasimpan (lai) ka dibukak,
 50 batin talotak (lai) k' ambo kombang.
 Sojak batulak dari Tanau,
 kaue jo cinto (lai) dalam ati,
 niat mukosuk (lai) ambo kini,
 nak mambao tuek mudo singgah,
 55 étén ka korong kampueng ambo,
 ka toluek koto rang Tanau Sori,
 tan²¹ Tungga datang (lai) sakali ko,
 dari Piaman saulang ko.

Tando babapak (lai) mbo ka Tikú,
 60 tando babako (lai) ka tuek mudo,
 singgah pulang kito bak kini.
 Ambo barumah topi jalan,
 dénai bakampueng (lai) topi lobueh,
 (kok) rumah mbo topotan dagang,

65 (o) kampueng mbo sandaran galéh.
 Sambie mancoliek kampueng ambo,
 maliék mikin mbo di Tanau,
 mamakan nasi (lai) nan sakopa,
 maminun aie nan saroguek,

70 rusueh nak tontu diléngah,
 tangih nak dapék (lai) ka dipujuek,
 itu nan cinto niat bona,
 singgah ka Tanau kito kini,"
 rundiengnyo Santan (lai) dalam dondang.

"O young lord, say I,
 if that is what you ask,
 then I can explain.

40 The almond flowers have bloomed,
 the leaves of the *lalang* have curled up;
 I came here with a reason,
 my purpose is important.

 The centipede falls, like lace,
 45 lands on the *lalang*-leaf;
 I did not send for you,
 I prayed that you should come.

As for my intention in coming,
 the hidden mystery shall be disclosed,
 50 the concealed secret I shall unfold.
 Since setting off from Tanau,
 the wish and longing in my heart,
 my present aim and purpose,
 have been to bring you to visit my house,
 55 yonder to my homestead and compound,
 to the bay of the village of Tanau Sori,
 since you have come for the first time,
 have arrived from Piaman this once.
 As a sign that my father is from Tiku,
 60 a sign that you are my *bako*,
 let us go to my house now.
 I have a house at the road-side,
 I have a homestead at the way-side,
 my home is a source of help to strangers,
 65 my house is a place of support for traders.
 While you look at my home,
 and see my poverty in Tanau,
 to eat a handful of rice,
 to drink a mouthful of water,
 70 so that sadness may be surely solaced,
 so that weeping may be comforted,
 that is my real desire and aim,
 let us visit Tanau now,"
 said Santan in the ship.

- 75 Manjawab pulo Nan Tungga,
rundieng disambuk (lai) rang Piaman:
"O nan jumbang Santan Batapih,
sumarak toluek koto Tanau,
taniat sungguez (lai) dalam ati,
80 kampueng rang Tanau (lai) ka dijojak.
Mujue Santan lai²² datang kini,
untueng lai tibo dalam dondang,
kok jampang indak Santan datang,
kan daganglah ka singgah juo.
85 Jalan lun tontu (lai) tompék lalu,
mujue tibo (lai) kau manjopuk,
pucuek dicinto ulam tibo,
(kan) nak aie pincuran tobik.
Tapi kok sungguez pun bak itu,
90 lai²³ dék dagang nan marumik,
ado dék Tungga nan maragu.
Santan pikie dalam-dalam,
cubolah inok (lai) pamonuengkan.

- Dilarang cupak nan salapan,
95 ditogah adat nan piawai;
bajalan kito (lai) di toplan,
raso kan tidak do sasuai.

- Runtuez adat kupak pisoko,
karam limbago nan tajoli;
100 kok binaso adat rang siko,
kurang manyonang dalam ati.

- Jo alah utang k' ambo baie?
Salah lah bédó ka manimbang.
Sobab bak itu jonyo dagang,
105 aluran diri badan kito,
kito dék samo (lai) anak mudo,
jolong batomu (lai) sakali ko,
kok tau niniek dengan mamak,
baiek pangulu jo andiko,
110 jo alah utang k' ambo baie?
Salah jo akoh k' ambo timbang?

75 Nan Tunnga replied,
 the man of Piaman answered her words:
 "O Santan Batapih the fair,
 glory of the bay of Tanau,
 I had firmly resolved
 80 that I should set foot in your home.
 It is lucky that you have come now,
 fortunate that you have arrived in the ship;
 even if you had not come,
 I would have visited you anyway.
 85 I do not yet know the way there,
 it is fortunate that you came to fetch me,
 I wished for a shoot, and a salad came,
 I desired water, and it gushed from a conduit.
 However, although that is so,
 90 there is something which worries me,
 something which makes me hesitate.
 Think carefully, Santan,
 ponder and consider well.

It is forbidden by the eight laws,
 95 prohibited by true custom;
 if we walked together on the shore,
 I feel it would be improper.

Custom would collapse, tradition be broken,
 the revealed law would founder;
 100 if local custom were flouted,
 I would feel unhappy.

How should I discharge the debt?
 It would be difficult to pay for the offence.
 The reason why I say so is that,
 105 with regard to ourselves,
 because we are both young,
 and have met now for the first time,
 if the elders knew of it,
 together with the lineage heads,
 110 how would I discharge the debt?
 How would I pay for the offence?

- Nak jan tasuo (lai) nan bak itu,
 Santan kudian ambo singgah,
 élok daululah kau pulang,
 115 kudian dagang manuruti,"
 katonyo rundieng Nan Tungga tu.
 Tompan tak nomueh Tungga singgah,
 cawap²⁴ lah onggak pai ka Tanau,
 andai lah tibo (lai) dék si Santan:
- 120 "O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
 mandonga tutue (lai) dari tuan,
 taraso io (lai) tu dék ambo.
 (Lagu Piaman) Tapi tak guno tuan rusuehkan;
 asa nomueh tan Tungga singgah,
 125 kito bajalan di nan pasa,²⁵
 luruih dék ado batujuan.
 Kok datang malang cilakonyo,
 tibo daawa tongah jalan,
 utang pitih Santan mambaie,
 130 utang nyawa badan mbo pancueng.
 Suko réla Santan ko ilang,
 asa lai nomueh tuan ka Tanau,
 ontah kok onggak tuan singgah.
- 135 Bakéndang²⁶ bonang lah lusueh,
 ditonun anak rang Palémbang;
 ilang jo nyawa Santan lai²⁷ nomueh,
 ontah kok tuan onggak pulang.
- (Concang Munin)²⁸ Dirimpang kunik jo anjolai,²⁹
 capo sabatang tongah padang;
 140 ja lai dirintang jo gundolai,³⁰
 ari kok badorok potang,
 jan lérék sonjo kito tibo,"
 katonyo Santan maso itu.
 Rundieng disambuk Anggun Tungga:
- 145 "Nan bonsu Santan Batapih,
 sumarak bintang di Tanau;
 lah sonang di dalam ati,
 taubék ati nan sorau.

So as to avoid that kind of thing,
 I will visit your house later,
 you had better go home first,
 115 I will follow afterwards,"
 said Nan Tungga.
 Evidently Tungga was unwilling to visit her,
 apparently he was reluctant to go to Tanau,
 and Santan Batapih spoke:

120 "O lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 hearing what you say,
 I feel that you are right.
 But you need not worry;
 if you agree to visit my house,
 125 we shall walk a well-trodden path,
 since our purpose is honourable.
 If misfortune comes,
 and we are met by accusations,
 if money is owed, I will pay,
 130 if a life is owed, let me be beheaded.
 I would gladly die,
 if only you will come to Tanau,
 unless perhaps you are unwilling.

135 The threads in the shawl are worn,
 it was woven by someone from Palembang;
 I would even be willing to die,
 but perhaps you do not want to come.

Turmeric and *anjolai* are cut,
 a *capo* in the middle of the plain;
 140 let us not be delayed by pleasantries,
 lest evening should approach,

let us not arrive long after dusk,"
 said Santan at that time.
 Her words were answered by Anggun Tungga:

145 "Young Santan Batapih,
 glory and star of Tanau;
 now my heart is easy,
 my unhappiness is healed.

- Kok itu olahlah nyato,
 150 sabuah pulo mbo sobuk,
 ado dék dagang nan marumik;
 bukan dék onggak mbo pulang,
 indak dék sogan ka Tanau.
 Aluran badan ambo ko,
 155 coliek dék Santan pambagian;
 pakaian tubueh mbo lah usang,
 kain baju lusueh di badan.
 Kok singgah ambo ka Tanau,
 tibo di korong kampueng Santan,
 160 mato ambo sodang paragu,
 ati dék kotu pandorong,
 kain kok banyak nan katuju,
 rintiek kok ado nan sasuai,
 ragi kok lai³¹ nan takona,
 165 kok tak lusueh dék mamakai,
 kok lusueh dék mancoliek sajo,
 tontu bangkalai mbo tangisi,
 Santan pikie dalam-dalam.
 Untueng salibu nan ka tibo,
 170 iduk manompang di jarami,
 tobiklah di alang taun,
 babungo talampau musin.
 Niatan godang k' atéh anjueng,
 sungguez dicinto ka maligai,
 175 disongko bonéh tiok tangkai,
 isuek kok bayueng dék pianggang,³²
 masak dimakan burueng pipik.
 Untueng jo Tungga kok bak itu,
 sialah tangih mamujuek?
 180 Rusueh ko indo tarintang,
 ka Tiku tangih taisak,
 ka dagang soda³³ balungguek;
 Santan pikie dalam-dalam,"
 rundiengnyo Anggun Nan Tungga.
 185 Lah baandai-andai juo,
 manjawab pulo si Santan:

As for that, it is now clear,
150 but I must mention another matter,
there is something which troubles me;
it is not because I am reluctant to go,
not because I am unwilling to come to Tanau.
As for myself,
155 look, Santan, at my plight;
my clothes are worn out,
the garments have become old on my body.
If I visit Tanau,
when I come to your house,
160 because my eyes are apt to rove,
and my heart is hasty,
supposing there is much cloth I admire,
dots which I like,
patterns which attract me,
165 if I cannot wear it out by use,
but only by looking at it,
I shall surely lament what is left unfinished,
think about it deeply, Santan.
Mine will be the fate of the *salibu*,
170 which lives alongside the stubble,
sprouting at the wrong time,
flowering after its due season.
Great is my desire to mount the *anjueng*,
but although I long for the boudoir,
175 every stalk seems full of grain,
yet later it may be spoilt by insects,
or when ripe be eaten by finches.
If such a fate were mine,
who would comfort my tears?
180 My sorrow would be inconsolable,
tearful and sobbing I would go to Tiku,
regret would be heaped upon me;
think about it deeply, Santan,"
said Anggun Nan Tungga.
185 On and on they talked,
and Santan replied:

- "O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
 pamuncak Tiku Piaman,
 tadonga rundieng tuek mudo,
 190 kain jo baju nan marusueh,
 ragi jo rintiek mancoméh,
 sa lai³⁴ nomueh tuan singgah,
 donga dék tuan mbo sobuk.
 Aluran badan diri ambo,
 195 takalo maso daulu,
 tén³⁵ di korong kampueng ambo,
 bamulo tonun ambo kombang,
 sapokat bunjai jo jujaian,³⁶
 ambo rontang tonun ka paso,
 200 cukie lalu ka ujuengnyo,
 kain sudah tonun mbo gulueng.
 Kini lusueh di lipatan,
 mananti tuan mamakai.
 Ragi jo rintiek ambo coliek,
 205 tompan ka lusueh dék rang jaueh,
 olun ka sonang ati tuan,³⁷
 ntah³⁸ kok onggak tuan singgah.
 Ari jan kan lamo kan tinggi,
 kotu jan batukuek panjang,
 210 to kito ilie ka Tanau,"
 katonyo Santan Batapih.
- Tadonga tutue (jo) itu,
 (Lagu Sungai abihlah tinggang Nan Tungga,
 Tolang)
 215 sulik tuek mudo dalam ati,
 to dapék jalan (lai) tompék lopéh.
 Bapikie s'orang (lai) Anggun Tungga,
 dapék pangona (lai) dék tuek mudo.
 Baduto-duto nyo bakoba,
 bakicueh rundieng (lai) dék tan Tungga:
 220 "Santan Batapih jonyo ambo,
 sojak tadi kito batutue.
 Raik dék olun ambo kombang,
 kini nan batin (lai) mbo katokan.
 Aluran badan diri dénai ko,

"O lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 supreme ruler of Tiku Piaman,
 hearing what you have said,
 190 that clothing and garments are troubling you,
 that patterns and dots are worrying you,
 if only you will agree to visit me,
 listen to what I say.
 As for myself,
 195 in former times,
 yonder in my home,
 when I first opened out the loom,
 the thread-ends and the *jujarian* were in agreement,
 I stretched the cloth on to the beam,
 200 and picked apart the threads as far as the end,
 when the cloth was finished I rolled it up.
 Now it has long lain folded,
 waiting for you to wear it.
 When I look at its pattern and dots,
 205 it seems fit to be worn by one from afar,
 you will not yet be content,
 perhaps you are unwilling to visit me.
 Before the sun rises ever higher,
 lest the time grow ever longer,
 210 come, let us go to Tanau,"
 said Santan Batapih.

When he heard these words,
 Nan Tungga did not know what to do,
 he was perplexed in his mind,
 215 and could not find a way to escape.
 Anggun Tungga thought to himself,
 and an idea came to the young lord.
 He spoke deceitfully,
 Lord Tungga uttered falsehoods:
 220 "Santan Batapih say I,
 we have been talking for some while.
 Because I have not yet unfolded the unseen,
 now I shall declare a secret.
 As for myself,

- 225 indak dék onggak singgah pulang,
donga dék Santan (lai) mbo curaikan.
(Kok) malang bona (lai) Santan tibo,
badan sakik Santan ka mari,
tubueh tak siat Santan tibo,
- 230 sakik nan tidak obéh tumpak,
domam nan bolun (kok) tontu raso.
Salah³⁹ nan pagi-pagi ari,
baru mambungo mato ari,
badan lah polak-polak dingin,
- 235 sakik manisiek tulang ijau.
Salah nan kabieh (lai) ari potang,
siat tubueh domam anggoto.
Ontah sakik si gulueng tonun,⁴⁰
domam nan sojak (lai) dari Tikun,
- 240 sakik tabao di Piaman,
ka tongah lauk mbo oduehkan,
di dondang panjang ambo tangguengkan.
Santan soba kau mananti;
pobilo siat badan ambo ko,
- 245 po ari tubueh mbo lah ringan,
kudian ari ambo singgah,
olun ka sonang parotian,"
kato Nan Tungga maso itu.
- Manjawab pulo (lai) Santan tu:
- 250 "O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
tasobuk badan tuan sakik,
tabincang tubueh dalam domam;
pobilo bingueng tuek mudo boli,
codiek di mano tuan jua?
- 255 Lai moh⁴¹ sakik badan tuan,
manga di lauk dioduehkan,
domam di dondang ditangguengkan?
Ka malah dukun ka tuan jopuk?
Tawa di mano (kok) Tungga ramu?
- 260 Ubék ka malah ka dicari?
Limau⁴² lah sénjang ka mencari.
(O) sakik tan oduehkan s'orang,
kan alah⁴³ guno si Santan ko?

225 It is not that I am unwilling to visit you,
 listen, Santan, as I explain.
 Your arrival was most unfortunate,
 you came when I was ill,
 you arrived when I was unwell,
 230 an ailment uncertain in location,
 a fever indefinite in sensation.
 Early each morning,
 as soon as the sun has flowered,
 my body is hot and cold,
 235 and the pain scrapes the marrow of my bones.
 As soon as evening approaches,
 my body is healthy but my limbs ache.
 Perhaps it is that sickness which 'rolls up the cloth',
 a fever I have had since leaving Tiku,
 240 a malady brought from Piaman,
 far out at sea I have suffered it,
 in the long ship I have endured it.
 Santan, wait patiently;
 when I am healthy,
 245 on the day my body is relieved,
 then, later, I will visit you,
 you will not yet be content in mind,"
 said Nan Tungga at that time.

Santan answered again:
 250 "O lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 you say that you are ill,
 you aver that you have a fever;
 when did you buy stupidity,
 where did you sell your wits?
 255 If you really are sick,
 why do you endure it at sea,
 and suffer in the ship?
 From where will you fetch a healer?
 Where will you collect antidotes?
 260 Where will medicines be sought?
 Limes are hard to find here,
 You suffer your illness alone,
 of what use then am I?

- 265 Tando baoyah mbo ka Piaman,
 tando babako mbo ka tuek mudo,
 ambo jan cacék di Piaman,
 asa lai nomueh tuan singgah,
 kok sakik di kampueng badan ambo,
 domam tuek mudo (lai) di Tanau,
 270 di anjueng tinggih dioduehkan.
 Dukun di sanan k' ambo jalang,
 oyah ambo mencari ubék,
 mandéh di Tanau maramu tawa,
 si Kombang Malang nan manyiramkan,
 275 olun ka sonang dék tuek mudo,
 Santan sumarang⁴⁴ (lai) tompék diam.
 Tapi sakarang iko kini,
 (Lagu Danéh)⁴⁵ tuan tak nomueh singgah pulang,
 sakik di (ni) lauk tan oduehkan,
 280 domam di dondang tuan tanggueng.
 Kok jampang malang (lai) pambagian,
 ajalunu)llah tuan kok sampai,
 nyawa kok tobang (lai) dari tubueh,
 ka babu(nu)jue Tungga di dondang,
 285 (kok) ka ba(na)kubue jo lauk godang.
 Kan alah (na) guno badan dénai?
 Dénai jan (a) pocék (ko) dék rang Tiku,
 asa lai (nai) nomueh tuan pulang,
 molah ti(ni)bo di kampueng ambo,
 290 kok jampang sampai aja tuan,
 (nan) nyawa di Tanau tan kok malayang,
 k' ambo bu(nu)jue di tongah rumah,
 nak ambo saok kain palombo,⁴⁶
 kain si(ni)rah bungo ambacang,
 295 baka(na)palo (lai) bonang mokau.⁴⁷
 (Lai) ba(na)rarak étén ka tobieng,
 bakubuekan di pondam dénai,
 rang siak rami ka sumbayang,
 murik o(no)yah ambo (lai) nan salawat,
 300 di Tanau l' ambo taaliekan,⁴⁸
 olun ka (na) sonang (lai) dék tan Tungga.
 Kok sogan (a) tuan (lai) bakubue,

265 As a sign that my father is from Piaman,
 a sign that you are *bako* to me,
 lest I be censured in Piaman,
 so long as you will agree to visit me,
 if you are ill, let it be in my home,
 if fevered, in Tanau,
 270 let it be endured in the high *anjueng*.
 There I shall go to a healer,
 my father will look for medicines,
 in Tanau my mother will collect antidotes,
 Kombang Malang will sprinkle you,
 275 you will not yet be content,
 and I will be anywhere you wish.
 But at present
 you are unwilling to come and visit me,
 you suffer your illness at sea,
 280 you endure your fever in the ship.
 Supposing your fate were evil,
 and your appointed hour of death were to come,
 if your soul flew from your body,
 you would be laid out in the ship,
 285 and buried in the great ocean.
 Of what use would I be?
 Lest I be abused by the people of Tiku,
 so long as you agree to come home,
 when you reach my home,
 290 if your hour of death comes,
 if your soul flies away in Tanau,
 I will lay you out in the middle of the house,
 I will cover you with a *palombo* cloth,
 a red cloth with *ambacang* flowers on it,
 295 its end embroidered with gold thread.
 You will go in procession to the hillside,
 and be buried in my burial plot,
 religious students will pray in large numbers,
 my father's pupils will invoke a blessing,
 300 in Tanau I will perform *tahlil*,
 you will not yet be content,
 If you refuse to be interred,

- (nan) kok o(no)nggak di tobieng ambo,
 ambo lu(nu)mue jo bodak orun;
 305 (nan) dip~~ana~~ lun jo kain cindai,
 (kok) lotak di kurondo comin,⁴⁹
 k' ambo kubuekan (lai) d' atéh anjueng,
 nak ambo ti(ni)mbun jo aie mato.
 Mbo bukak sakali samusin,
 310 mbo singkok sakali saoji,
 (Lagu Sungai kutiko rindu (lai) Santan sajo,
 Tolang) olun ka sonang parotian,"
 kato dunie Santan Batapih.
- Tadonga tutue dék Nan Tungga,
 315 to dapék tinggang (lai) dék tuek mudo,
 jalan to ado tompék lopéh;
 sampai dibukak (lai) batin sungguez,
 dikombang raik (lai) di Piaman,
 kasieh jo Gondo Tungga bilang:
 320 "O nan jumbang Santan Batapih,
 bungo satangkai (lai) dék rang Tanau,
 sojak tadi rundieng lah panjang.
 Bukan dék sogan ambo singgah,
 olun dék onggak ambo pulang,
 325 (o) Santan dongalah mbo curaikan.
 Dogaklah dénai ko di Piaman,
 ambo ko rajo di nagori,
 badan (dék)⁵⁰ sutan (lai) ko di Tiku.
 Takalo mulo (lai) mbo ka lauk,
 330 ilie dilopéh tunangan,
 ka lauk mbo dilopéh judu,
 banamo Nan Gondoriah.
 Gondo manuntuk (lai) kondak ati,
 kondak saratuh duo pulueh.
 335 Lah ampieng gonok kasamonyo,
 saikue burueng (lai) nan tak dapék,
 ciék (lai) nuri nan olun bulieh.
 Ambo taniat dalam ati,
 niat mencari (lai) burueng nuri,
 340 pai bapikék (ai) jo manggotah,
 baiek manyumpik (lai) anak burueng,
 (kok) ka bukik Si Guntang-Guntang,

if you do not wish to lie on my hillside,
 I will smear your body with fragrant powder;
 305 it will be wound about with a silken cloth,
 and placed in the glazed chamber,
 I shall bury you in the *anjueng*,
 and heap you with my tears.
 I shall open it once a year,
 310 I shall unlock it each pilgrimage month,
 when I long for you in my solitude,
 your heart will not yet be content,"
 said Santan Batapih playfully.

When Nan Tungga heard these words,
 315 he was at his wits' end,
 there was no escape;
 so he told the hidden truth,
 and unfolded the secret in Piaman,
 telling of his love for Gondorih:
 320 "O Santan Batapih the fair,
 single flower of the people of Tanau,
 we have talked for a long time.
 It is not that I am unwilling to visit you,
 not that I am reluctant to come back;
 325 Santan, listen while I explain.
 As regards myself in Piaman,
 I am a prince in my country,
 I am a lord in Tiku.
 When I started on my voyage,
 330 my betrothed gave me leave to set out,
 my fiancée let me go to sea,
 whose name is Gondorih.
 Gondo demanded her heart's desires,
 a hundred and twenty requests.
 335 Nearly all have now been fulfilled,
 one bird has not yet been obtained,
 a single parrot remains to be acquired.
 I have resolved in my heart
 to seek a parrot,
 340 to go snaring and bird-liming,
 or shooting the bird with a blow-pipe,
 to Si Guntang-Guntang Hill,

(Concang Munin)

345 ka Si Guntang panjariengan,
ka sarang gagak nan limo,
kulik manih jolong babungo,
kayu aro mangarang putiek,
di sanan burueng nan ado.
Santan sobalah daulu;
baru dapék burueng nuri tu,

350 sambie mudiek ambo ka Tanau,
sambie pulang dénai ko singgah,
olun ka sonang parotian,"
katonyo andai Nan Tungga.

355 Baru tasobuk jo⁵¹ Nan Gondo,
agaklah Santan Batapih,
duduek tatimpo dalam dondang,
litak tulang sondi anggoto,
barombak alam dalam dado.⁵²

360 Rundieng tobik pakobaran,
dék diri Santan Batapih:
"O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
to patuk tuan bak itu;
rundieng dék sodang jo rang Tanau,
tasobuk dunie di Tiku,

365 tabincang puti Gondoriah,
romuek rasonyo kiro-kiro,
agak taibo dalam ati.
Tapi kok sunggueh bak itu,
molah mbo jopuk ka dondang,

370 molah sampai ambo ka mari,
dék pisurueh oyah kandueng,
dék titah oyah mbo bona,
nan bagola tuek Maudun,
nan mamak kandueng dék tuan,

375 tuan ka mari sajaueh ko.
Molah mbo sonsong ka dondang,
indak nomueh singgah pulang,
lah lansai utang mbo ka tuan,
ambo jan pocék di Piaman.

380 Tapi kok sunggueh bak itu,
sa lai nomueh tuan singgah,

345 to Si Guntang where the fowling-nets are laid,
 to the nests of the five crows,
 (where) the cinnamons have just flowered,
 and the fig-trees are beginning to form their fruit,
 that is where there is a bird.
 Santan, be patient for a while;
 as soon as I have caught the parrot,
 350 I will come to Tanau on my journey home,
 I will visit you on my way back,
 your heart will not yet be content,"
 said Nan Tungga.

355 As soon as Nan Gondo was mentioned,
 as for Santan Batapih,
 she sank to her knees in the ship,
 weak in her bones, joints and limbs,
 the world shook within her breast.
 Words and speech were uttered
 360 by Santan Batapih:
 "O lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 you ought not to behave like this;
 because you are in the middle of speaking to me,
 when you mention the joys of Tiku,
 365 when you speak of princess Gondoriah,
 my heart feels shattered,
 I feel rather distressed.
 But even so,
 if I came to the ship to fetch you,
 370 if I arrived here,
 it was on my father's instructions,
 it was at my father's orders,
 whose name is lord Maudun,
 who is your own mother's brother,
 375 since you have come so far.
 Provided that I have come to the ship to welcome you,
 (even though) you refuse to come and visit me,
 my debt to you has been discharged,
 lest I should be censured in Piaman.
 380 But even so,
 if only you will agree to visit me,

- tibo di korong di kampueng,
 tibo di rumah mbo bona,
 pintak tuan nan ka bulieh,
 385 kondak Tungga nan ka laku,
 nan tuan cari ka dapék.
 Satontang si burueng nuri,
 ambo ado banak burueng,
 di Tanau Santan banuri,
 390 bukan nuri maso kini,
 burueng ambo maso daulu,
 nak nuri pandai bakato,
 pandai torat pandai nujun,
 tau jo kutiko limo,
 395 obéh jo galah salapan.
 Lusueh dalam sangka juo,
 parueh nan panjang lah popék,
 sayok nan rimbun lah rumpang,
 mananti pintak rang jaueh,
 400 mananti jopuk rang Tikú.
 Tapi kan a mbo katokan?
 Usah burueng ka tan tariek,
 jan nuri ka tuan jopuk,
 (Lagu Píaman) singgah ka Tanau tuan tak nomueh.
 405 Baréla-rélalah kito,
 baisin-isinlah kini,
 tulaklah Santan nak pulang,
 babaliek jo tangan ampo."
 Santan bajalan duo langkah.
 410 Tasobuk Santan baburueng,
 tadonga inyo banak nuri,
 raso ka io nyo⁵³ Nan Tungga,
 raso ka bona nyo tuek mudo,
 Muluk tadorong ditauri,
 415 koba talompék Tungga tobusi,
 imbau Nan Tungga nan lah tibo;
 "Santan Batapih nan budiman,
 sumarak bintang parotian,
 padi si puluk padí usang,
 420 élok baladang topi lobueh;

when you reach my homestead and compound,
 when you arrive at my house,
 your request shall be fulfilled,
 385 your desire shall be granted,
 what you seek shall be provided.
 As to the parrot,
 I do have a bird,
 I possess a parrot in Tanau,
 390 not a parrot of these days,
 mine is a bird of the old days,
 a parrot which can speak,
 knows the Old Testament and astrology,
 understands the *kutiko limo*,
 395 is familiar with the *galah salapan*.
 It has grown shabby from staying in its cage,
 its long beak has become blunt,
 its luxuriant wings have become tattered,
 waiting to be sought by the man from afar,
 400 waiting to be fetched by the man from Tiku.
 But what is the use of my saying so?
 So far from taking the bird,
 let alone fetching the parrot,
 you refuse even to visit Tanau.
 405 Let us bid farewell to each other,
 let us say goodbye to each other,
 allow me to go home,
 to return with empty hands."
 Santan took two steps away.
 410 When it was mentioned that Santan had a bird,
 when he heard that she had a parrot,
 Nan Tungga thought it was the truth,
 the young lord thought it was a fact.
 He redeemed his hasty words,
 415 Tungga ransomed his rash remarks,
 Nan Tungga called out:
 "Kind-hearted Santan Batapih,
 glory and star of my heart,
 sticky rice, old rice,
 420 it's good to farm beside the road;

ja lai pangguluk panggalusang,
pintak Santan lai⁵⁴ ka kobue.

- Urang pambongih ilang aka.
Kok anyo dék badan ambo ko,
425 dék badombak-dombai⁵⁵ juo,
bukan dék onggak singgah ka Tanau;
ambo maninjau pohom Santan,
sambie mauji tunggang ati.
(Lagu Sungai
Tolang)
Lauk nan dalam k' ambo ajuek,
(nan) putieh kapéh (lai) ka dicoliek,
jo tunggang ati mbo nak tau.
Agaklah badan diri ambo ko,

bijo dirondang nyo kan lai tumbueh,
kok kunun mumbang jo kalapo;
435 bajalan s'orang mbo ko lai nomueh,
(kok) mujue Santan lai nak mambao,

lah sonang ati maumin,
sojuek rasonyo (lai) parotian.
Kini bak itulah dék Santan;
440 (o) nak batondai dagang ka Tanau,
bacawap singgah (lai) ambo pulang,
nak baisin (lai) mbo kini ko,
rundieng sapatah (lai) tando tingga,
(kan) jo diri Abang Salammat.
445 Nanti dék Santan sabonta,
mbo jalang badan (lai) Salammat tu,
(kok) ka pangipak dondang panjang."

Tungga bajalan (lai) maso itu,
(ka) sampai ka pangipak dondang,
450 batomu pulo jo Salammat.
Rundieng baguluk dék Nan Tungga:
"O buyueng (ai) Abang Salammat,
Santan Batapih rang Tanau
datang ka dondang manjopuk ambo,
455 niat mambao singgah pulang.

don't be hurried and hasty,
 what you ask shall indeed be granted.

Short-tempered people lose their heads.

As for myself,

425 the reason why I kept delaying
 is not that I was unwilling to visit Tanau;
 I was observing your thoughts,
 while testing your determination.

I was going to fathom the deep ocean,
 430 to see the whiteness of the cotton,
 and find out how determined you were.
 As regards myself,

even a cooked seed will grow,
 not to mention a fallen unripe coconut or a ripe one;
 435 I would even come by myself,
 it is fortunate that you wish to take me.

My faithful heart is content,
 my feelings are tranquil.

This is what you should do now, Santan;
 440 to mark my going to Tanau,
 as a sign that I am visiting your home,
 I shall take my leave now,
 a few words to mark my departure,
 with Abang Salamat.

445 Wait a moment, Santan,
 I shall go to Salamat,
 to the *pangipak* of the long ship."

Tungga then walked away,
 came to the *pangipak* of the ship,
 450 and met Salamat.

Nan Tungga spoke hurriedly:

"Abang Salamat my lad,
 Santan Batapih of Tanau
 came to the ship to fetch me,
 455 intending to take me to visit her home.

Ambo tak nomueh singgah pulang,
 sojak tadi (lai) batongka-tongka,
 lah posai dék batutue juo.
 Tadonga kondak lai ka bulieh,
 460 pintak bak raso lai ka laku.
 Si Santan ado banak burueng,
 di Tanau lai nyo banuri,
 kito mencari (lai) cinto ati.
 Nan niat batin mbo kini,
 465 Salamat lopéh mbo ka Tanau,
 (o) ka rumah Santan Batapih.
 Manjopuk burueng mbo ka Tanau tu,
 nuri ditariek jo rogonyo,
 (Concang Munin)
 470 sangka dijinjieng jo patuknyo.
 Baru dapék si burueng nuri,
 dondang ka pulang ka Piaman,
 laie ka mudiek ka kampuengnyo,
 niat di Tiku naknyo sampai,
 kaue di kampueng naknyo lopéh,"
 475 rundieng Nan Tungga jo Salamat.

Manjawab pulo Salamat:
 "Ampun lai ambo ka tuek mudo,
 tuan ka singgah pai ka Tanau,
 ubék⁵⁶ ka kampueng oncu⁵⁷ Santan,
 480 niat manjopuk anak nuri;
 pucuek dicinto ulam tibo,
 sumue mbo kali aie tobik,
 nak mbo lopéh tuan ka Tanau,
 nak nanti ambo di dondang.
 485 Tapi pitawék jan tan lupo,
 usah tan léngah jo jonjian,
 sotie di mudiek kona juo.

Dirontang bonang jo mokau,
 panjaik suto bonang bolah;⁵⁸
 490 kok kombang bungo di Tanau,
 jan lai tan kaik tuan sokah.

Kok jonieh aie rang sanan,
 usah tan sauek tuan minun.

I declined to go to her home,
 we argued for some time,
 became tired of talking on and on.
 Then I heard that our wish will be fulfilled,
 it seems that our request will indeed be granted.

460

Santan really has a bird,
 she does have a parrot in Tanau,
 let us seek our heart's desire.

465

The wish within me now is
 that you should let me go to Tanau,
 to Santan Batapih's house.

470

I shall fetch the bird from Tanau,
 the parrot shall be taken in exchange for its price,
 the cage shall be carried in exchange for its worth.
 As soon as the parrot has been secured,
 the ship will go home to Piaman,
 the sail will return to its home,
 so that our aim may be realized in Tiku,
 so that our wish may be fulfilled at home,"

475

said Nan Tungga to Salamat.

Salamat answered:

"Forgive me, young master,
 you are going to Tanau to visit,
 to go to lady Santan's home,
 in order to fetch the parrot;
 I wished for a shoot and got a salad,
 I dug a well and a spring appeared,
 I bid you farewell to Tanau,
 I shall wait in the ship.

480

485

But do not forget the injunction,
 you must not neglect your promise,
 remember still the vow you made at home.

490

The thread is stretched out with the gold thread,
 to sew silk with cheap thread;
 if a flower blooms in Tanau,
 do not hook it and break it off.

If the water there is pure,
 do not scoop it up and drink it.

- 495 Kok aluih bugih di Tanau,
ja lai tan rogo tuan tuka.
Dék bak itu jonyo ambo,
- 500 rang Batu Bolang Baukie
ka balai babaju suto;
dék tuan jonji kok mungkie,
ambo ka konai sumpah Gondo,
- 505 jonji dék ambo mamocik,
sotie tan malin nyurékkan,
nan tigo ratuih nan sosinyo.
Tapaék ka tiang panjang,
taontak ka batu son⁵⁹di,
bapantang lipue dék ujan,
nan tidak lokang dék panéh.
- 510 Riek-biriek tobang ka Tiku,
ingkok malayang tongah sawah;
taga dék rintiek ujan lalu,
jan lipue jojak nan tagamba.
- 515 Asa jan lupo tan jo sotie,
walau ka mano tuan poi,
mbo lopéh jo ati cuci.
Cubo inok pikie bona
sotie di Tiku daulu,
jonji jo neu⁶⁰ Gondo ambo.
- 520 Bakudo bolang Karunie,
palano daun cimantueng;⁶¹
dék tuek mudo sotie kok mungkie,
Gondo ka tarék⁶² k' atéh gunueng,
- 525 tén ka puncak gunueng Lédang,
ka ampa ka batu putieh,
ka jorok batu barogueng,⁶³
tén ka sakék nan banibueng.⁶⁴
Ka bakampueng rimbo dalam,
ka baanjueng guo batu,
mamakan toruek daun kayu,
ka maulam pucuek bonai;⁶⁵

495 If the cloth of Tanau is fine,
do not bid for it or buy it.
The reason why I say so is,

the people of Batu Bolang Baukie
go to market in silk jackets;
if you break your promise,
500 I shall be cursed by Gondo,

because I safeguard the promise,
the *malin* wrote down the vow,
the three hundred are its witnesses.
It was chiselled on a tall pillar,
505 struck on to a stone support,
it cannot be washed away by the rain,
nor cracked by the sun's heat.

A bee-eater flew to Tiku,
swooped and alighted in a wet-rice field;
510 just because of the drops of passing rain,
let not the imprinted footsteps be washed away.

Provided that you do not forget your vow,
wherever you may go,
I bid you farewell with a good grace.
515 Consider well and bear in mind
the vow made in Tiku,
the promise to my lady Gondo.

Ride the piebald horse Karunie,
its saddle a *cimantueng* leaf;
520 if you break your promise,
Gondo will withdraw to the mountain-top,

yonder to the summit of Mount Lédang,
to the flat white rock,
to the resounding rock which juts out,
525 yonder to the *sakék* and the *nibueng* palm.
She will have the deep jungle for her homestead,
she will have a rock cave for her *anjueng*,
will eat the shoots and leaves of trees,
will make a salad of *bonai* tips;

- 530 ka manih aie di bungkue,⁶⁶
 ka bakasue rosam padék;
 bak itu sotie tuek mudo
 jo diri neu Gondo ambo.
 Kini ka urak ka ungkai,
 535 mbo tak réla tontang itu.
 Tuan ka singgah ka Tanau,
 inggo manjopuk burueng sajo,
 mbo lopéh jo ati cuci.
- 540 Tuan ai toréh patoréh,
 indak ka batompi ampo,
 si puluk gorén⁶⁷ nan padi;
 tuek mudo doréh padoréh,
 ja lai tan nantikan lamo,
 baguluk tuanlah kini,"
- 545 (Lagu
 Sungai
 Tolang) kato Selamat dalam dondang.
 Rundieng diukue (lai) samo panjang,
 koba sasuai (lai) laie batin.
- 550 (O) dirontang suto ka mokau,
 uléh kulindan ka biludu,
 dirontang bonang (lai) di toplan;
 malakik Tungga (lai) pai ka Tanau,
 baronti andai (lai) wak daulu,
 rundieng di situ (lai) mbo ontikan aiii.

530 the water in the knots will be sweet,
 she will have thick ferns for her mattress;
 such was your vow
 with my lady Gondo.

If you break and revoke it now,
 535 I shall not consent to that.
 If you visit Tanau
 solely to fetch the bird,
 I bid you farewell with a good grace.

Clean, clean the rice,
 540 we will not winnow husks,
 sticky rice is paddy;
 quick, quick, young master,
 do not wait long,
 make haste now,"

545 said Salamat in the ship.

Their words when measured were the same length,
 their speech was in agreement outwardly and inwardly.

The silk is extended to the gold-threaded cloth,
 join the thread to the velvet,
 550 the yarn is stretched out to the bathing-place;
 before Tungga goes to Tanau,
 I will cease from words for a while,
 I will stop the story there.

TRANSCRIPTION B

The second transcription reproduces Munin's performance of another well-liked scene, that in which Anggun Nan Tungga tries to persuade Dandomi Sutan, to whom he has been married for three years, to let him leave Ruhun and return to Tiku Pariaman (cf. pp 75 - 77 in the summary of the story). What listeners find enjoyable about this scene are the tricks and arguments deployed against each other by Nan Tungga and Dandomi Sutan as they try to achieve their undeclared aims - Nan Tungga's being to take the parrot back to Tiku and marry Gondorah, Dandomi Sutan's being to keep Nan Tungga in Ruhun.

The performance was recorded on 26th May 1975 at a wedding in Sarik Lawas, a village about 9 miles west of Payakumbuh. The village is the home of my helper from the Cultural Development Office, Sdr Syamsuhir Burhan, and it was at his suggestion that Munin and his pupil As performed *sijobang* at the wedding. The evening was unfortunately marred when the bride and her attendant suffered a fit of screaming and weeping, brought on, some said, by a type of witchcraft called *sijundai*. As a result, the *sijobang* performance, which had begun in the presence of the bride and groom, was transferred to a nearby coffee-shop. Later, however, the singing was resumed in the house, and continued there until dawn. These unhappy circumstances may partly account for the somewhat gloomy nature of the introductory *pantun*.

Unlike the first transcription (Santan Batapih in the ship) this one does not reproduce a complete stint of singing from beginning to end. There were two fairly brief interruptions in recording (at line 70 and line 617 of the transcription), and I stopped taping before Munin stopped singing. The entire recording lasts 42 minutes.

(Lagu Angké Piaman) Ka buki tanamlah padi,
 anjolai sodang babungo,
 tumbueh sarumpun tongah padang;
 ja lai tagamang datuek⁶⁸ kini,
 5 tobang kok indak satingginyo,
 sayok nan rimbun dék lah rumpang⁶⁹ aiii.

Onau nak rang Padang Kalumpang,
 pucuek digontéh ramo-ramo,
 itu nan lobieh wak buluehkan;⁷⁰
 10 sayok nan rimbun nan lah rumpang, mak,
 tobang kan indak bak nan lamo,
 itu nan lobieh mbo rusuehkan aiii.

Banyaklah olang nan bak olang,
 kan indak nan bak olang nanto,⁷¹
 15 rang Cino kombanglah payueng,
 nak mudiek ka Batu Ampa;⁷²
 banyaklah malang pakaro malang,
 kan indak nan bak malang ambo,
 cincin taboli jari kudueng,
 20 inai tatumbuek kuku tangga⁷³ aiii.

(A member of the
 audience:

"Lah posai dék iduk tu mah! Ka di alah!")⁷⁴

Bapantun dagang gak⁷⁵ sabonta,
 donga ibarat sodaran ambo.

Maninjau padi lah masak,
 kapéh-kapéh⁷⁶ batimba jalan,
 25 itu nan lobieh wak luluehkan;⁷⁷
 ati risau dibao golak,
 bak panéh mangandueng ujan,
 itu nan lobieh mbo rusuehkan aiii.

Go to the hill and plant rice,
 the *anjolai* is flowering,
 a clump grows in the middle of the plain;
 do not be disappointed now, sirs,
 5 if I do not fly as high,
 because my well-feathered wings are tattered now.

The sugar-palm of a man from Padang Kalumpang,
 its shoots were nipped off by butterflies,
 that is what I most bamboo;
 10 my well-feathered wings are tattered, sirs,
 I cannot, of course, fly as once I did,
 That is what saddens me most.

There are many eagles which look like eagles,
 but none as good as the *olang nanto*,
 15 the Chinese opens his umbrella,
 to go upstream to Batu Ampa;
 there are many kinds of misfortune,
 but none as bad as my misfortune,
 when the ring has^d been bought, the finger was cut off,
 20 when the henna had been pounded, the nail fell off.

(Audience: "He's had a good life! What does he have to worry about!")

I will sing *pantun* for a while,
 listen to a parable about my sorrow.

At Maninjau the *padi* is ripe,
 the *kapéh-kapéh* are on each side of the road,
 25 that is what I crush most;
 when your heart is sad, but you try to laugh,
 it is like sunshine heavy with rain,
 that is what saddens me most.

- 30 Kobék salilik buue sintak,
mari diélak⁷⁸ kain suto,
babaju cita biludu,
tonunan anak Indojadi,
bontangan lapiek pasilangan;⁷⁹
sakik nan indak obéh tumpak,
35 domom ko tido tontu raso,
di malah datuek ka bih⁸⁰ tau?
Kami manangih dalam ati,
tawa di baliek langik ijaui,⁸¹
nan pandai tolong patinggangkan⁸² aiii.
- 40 Dék pandan⁸³ ko lai nan malulueh,
padi si puluk panjang tangkai,
dituai nak rang Koto Tuo;⁸⁴
dék kami ko lai nan marusueh,
bah a nyo kusuik ka salosai?
45 Ujueng jo pangka ilang pulo aiii.

(Lagu
Danéh)

Aiii(ni) anyo laii(ni),⁸⁵
rundieng nan tidak do kan sudah,
andai nan ja lai dipapanjang,
ari nan sodang (lai) bak kini.

- 50 Kalau mbo kumpa (lai) jo kulindan,
batonun kusuk (kan lai) bonang;
kalau mbo (no) kona (lai) untueng badan,
dunie to (no) patuk (lai) bakombang.⁸⁶
- 55 (Kok) nyo⁸⁷ ari torang (lai) ari,
(kok) nyo bu(nu)lan toranglah bulan,
malang dék cayo bintang timue;
(kok) nyo a(na)ti sonang (lai) ati,
(kok) nyo ba(na)dan sonanglah badan,
tapi dék malang (lai) jaueh juo.
- 60 (Nan) tak sa(na)lah bungo limbayueng,
osahlah (na) pandan (lai) manyulido;⁸⁸
(nan) tak sa(na)lah bundo mangandueng,
osah lai rotak (lai) nan cilako.

30 Atie with one turn is a slip-knot,
 let us measure the silk cloth in *élak*,
 wear a coat of chintz and velvet,
 woven by someone from Indojati,
 lay the mats cross-wise;
 a pain indefinite in place,
 35 this fever is uncertain in feeling,
 how could you know it, sirs?
 I weep in my heart,
 the cure is beyond the blue skies,
 whoever knows how, please help me!

 40 There is something which crushes the *pandan*,
 sticky rice has a long stalk,
 it is cut by the people of Koto Tuo;
 there is something which distresses me,
 how will the tangled be unravelled?
 45 Everything is in confusion.

Aiii anyo laiii,
 the story will not come to an end,
 let not my words be protracted,
 on a day like the present.

50 If I wind up the thread,
 in weaving, the thread is tangled;
 if I reflect on my lot,
 this entertainment should not be unfolded.

 The day wants to be bright,
 55 The moon wants to be bright,
 unfortunately they are outshone by the morning star;
 my heart wants to be at ease,
 my body wants to be at ease,
 but because of my ill luck this is far from true.

 60 The water-hyacinth is not to blame,
 clearly the *pandan*,.....;
 the mother who carried me is not to blame,
 clearly it is my fate which is accursed,

65 Tali ka (na) panjang anyo lai,
 tali ka (na) panjang (lai) anyo lai,
 (kok) mbo ba(na)o mamanjék pinang,
 panjék nan sampai (lai) ka buahnyo;
 nyanyi ka (na) panjang anyo lai,
 rago ma(na)nanti (lai) 'ri ka siang,
 70 rundieng di(ni)sobuk jo tuahnyo.

(Kok) pandan sajo.⁸⁹....

(Concang
 Si Ana)

. . . . Bondue Ruhun.
 Tontangan diri (lai) Anggun Tungga,
 duduek bamusin Tungga sanan,
 75 lérék bataun tuek mudo situ,
 niat lah sampai jo Dandomi,
 kaue lah lopéh (lai) jo rang sanan.
 Abih ari babilang pokan,
 abih pokan baétong bulan,
 80 lérék bataun Nan Tungga tu,
 kasieh na(na)n sodang (ko) bajuraik,
 rindu jo Domi bajujaian.⁹⁰

(Lagu
 Daneh)

Aluran badan (lai) tan Tungga tu,
 lérék bamusin jo Dandomi,
 datang naimat (lai) dari Allah,
 laielah (na) puto dék Dandomi.
 S'ari a(na)do s'ari banamo,
 (o) bana(na)mo si Mandugombak,⁹¹
 olah go(no)dang Ombak Si Lobu.
 90 Anak so(no)njuengan (lai) dék Nan Tungga,
 ilang to (no) dapék ka panggonti,
 anyuk to ado (lai) ka pamintéh,
 (kok) codiek dék baaja-aja,
 (o) tinggi (ni) dék anjueng-baanjueng.⁹²
 95 Aluran (a) diri Mandugombak,
 (a) sodang basutan (lai) ka matonyo,
 kotu ba(na)rajo ka parangai,⁹³
 lopéh ba(na)poluek nak badukueng,⁹⁴
 (o) didu(nu)kueng mamarok dado,
 100 (o) dijo(no)lang marongguik obuek.

65 The rope will be long,
 the rope will be long,
 I shall take it when I climb the areca palm,
 a climb which reaches the fruit;
 the singing will be long,
 while waiting for the daylight,
 70 the story will be told with its good fortune.

Only the *pandan*...

. . . . the country of Ruhun.
 As for Anggun Tungga,
 many a twelve-month Tungga lived there,
 75 year after year the young lord stayed there,
 his aim was realized with Dandomi,
 his wish was fulfilled with her of that country.
 Days were followed by weeks,
 weeks gave way to months,
 80 year after year Nan Tungga stayed,
 their loves were intertwined,
 in longing he and Domi were interwoven.
 As for lord Tungga,
 many a twelve-month he lived with Dandomi,
 85 a blessing came from Allah,
 Dandomi bore a son.
 The day he was born, on that day he was named,
 named Mandugombak,
 when he grew up, Ombak Si Lobu.
 90 The child was cherished by Nan Tungga,
 if lost, there was no-one to replace him,
 if swept away, no-one to rescue him,
 he grew wise by being taught,
 tall by being lifted up.
 95 As for Mandugombak,
 he was like a prince in his own eyes,
 like a lord in his behaviour,
 after being held he wanted to be carried,
 when carried he would pummel your chest,
 100 sitting astride your neck he pulled your hair.

- Sodang pabapak (lai) jo Nan Tungga,
 kotu pa(na)nuruik jo oyahnyo;
 bapantang (a) tingga (lai) dék Nan Tungga,
 conggang sa(na)tapak (lai) manangih,
 105 corai salangkah (lai) nyo maimbau,
 bak itu (nu) laku Mandugombak.
 Limbak sa(na)baliek pad⁹ itu,
 aluran diri (lai) Anggun Tungga,
 ado lai (ni) pado satu ari,
 110 Tungga lah duduek (nyo tu) jo monueng,
 togak tuek mudo lah jo pégu.⁹⁵
 Pohom di (ni) batin (lai) lah babisiek,
 takona (na) niat di Paman,
 tadogak sotie (lai) nan di Tikú,
 115 jonji jo (no) Gondo bajujaian;
 sotie ba(na)karang (lai) tujueh bulan,
 kini lah (na) larék tigo taun.
 Duduek jo monueng (lai) Nan Tungga tu,
 togak ka (na) pintu⁹⁶ lah jo pégu.
 120 Dalam dibimbang (lai) nan bak itu,
 tibolah (na) tanyo dék Dandomi,
 datanglah (na) rundieng (lai) si Dandomi:
- "O tu(nu)an nan baiek budi,
 sangkutan (a) rindu badan ambo;
 125 agak⁹⁷ taéran dalam ati,
 sodang salosai (lai) kusuik sajo.
- Mbo pandang tuan lah jo monueng,
 togak ka pintu tan lah jo pégu;
 lah lain dari nan daulu,
 130 lah ganjie dari (ko) nan biaso.
 Agak ta(na)éran badan dénai,
 sojak salauk⁹⁸ salamo ko,
 lah tigo taun tuek mudo siko,
 olun pandai duduek jo monueng,
 135 kini ko rusueh (lai) tan pikiri.
 Apokoh (no) salah dari tuan?
 Ontah kok badan nan lah sakik,
 kok sakik dukun (lai) k' ambo jopuk,

He kept calling for his father,
 and would follow Nan Tungga about;
 he refused to be left by Nan Tungga,
 if they parted one pace he would weep,
 105 if they separated one step he would call out,
 that was how Mandugombak behaved.
 Apart from that,
 as for Anggun Tungga,
 it happened one day,
 110 Tungga sat brooding,
 the young lord stood pensively.
 His thoughts whispered within him,
 he remembered his intention in Piaman,
 he thought longingly of his vow in Tiku,
 115 the promise which bound him to Gondo;
 he had vowed (to return in) seven months,
 now three long years had passed.
 Nan Tungga sat brooding,
 stood by the window pensively.
 120 While he hesitated,
 a question was uttered by Dandomi,
 words were spoken by Dandomi:

 "My gracious master,
 to whom I am hooked by longing;
 125 I feel quite surprised,
 what was straight is now suddenly tangled.

 I see you have begun to brood,
 you stand by the window pensively;
 it is different from before,
 130 it is strange compared with the usual.
 I am rather surprised,
 all this length of time,
 for three years you have been here,
 you have not learned to sit brooding,
 135 but now your thoughts are sad.
 What is wrong, my lord?
 Perhaps you are sick in body,
 if you are sick I will fetch a healer,

- kok domom tawa mbo ramukan:
- 140 Ontah kok makan (lai) nan tak konyang,
 minun tuek^{mudo}/nan tak puéh,
 élok to(no)rangan (a lai) ka Dandomi,
 nak jan di(ni)bimbang ragu kini.
 Limbak sabalie^k pado itu,
- 145 ontah kok salah dari badan mbo,
 laku parangai mbo nan gawa;
 raso kok salah (lai) laku ambo,
 lah patuk tuan manunjuekki,
 lai kan dapék (lai) Domi ubah,
- 150 tuan to(no)rangan bokéh ambo.
 Nan lobieh bona (ko) mbo tanyokan,
 alura(na)n diri tuek mudo ko,
 kalau ba(na)io-(lai)io bona,
 jokok di(ni)inok dipikiri,
- 155 tak patuk tuan duduek jo monueng;
 jampang ba(na)dunie ka galanggang,
 monti dubalang nan maanta,
 tuan kok poi (lai) ka toplan,
 diirieng dayang jo panginang;
- 160 raso tak patuk (lai) tuan jo monueng,
 kini ko (no) rusueh diandunkan,⁹⁹
 di makoh gawa jo bédonyo?
 Rotak nan tidak rago¹⁰⁰ tatimpo,
 sumbieng nan tido (lai) tadoga,
- 165 sodang tajélo (lai) putuih sajo,¹⁰¹
 rumiklah (na) Domi mamikiri,
 tuek mudo torangkan bokéh ambo,"
 kato Dandomi tongah rumah.

Sanan manjawab (lai) Anggun Tungga:

- 170 "O nan bonsu puti Dandomi,
 sandaran untueng dék nak dagang;
 nan sakarang iko kini,
 buliehlah pulo (lai) ambo bilang,

Dandomi donga mbo curaian.

- 175 Duduek jo monueng (lai) mbo andunkan,
 togak jo pégu ambo kini,

if you have a fever I will collect herbs for you.

140 Perhaps your food has not satisfied you,
or your drink not sufficed you,
please tell me,
lest I be made anxious by doubt.
Apart from that,
145 perhaps I have done wrong,
and my behaviour been at fault;
I feel, if my behaviour is wrong,
you ought to point it out,
I shall certainly be able to change it,
150 tell me about it, my lord.
What I ask in particular is this,
with regard to yourself,
to be really truthful,
if one thinks hard about it,
155 you ought not to sit brooding;
if you go to the arena to amuse yourself,
officers and guards escort you,
and if you go to the bathing-place,
you are followed by maids and attendants;
160 I feel you ought not to brood,
yet now you are distressed,
where is the fault and the trouble?
Cracked without even being struck,
chipped although not knocked,
165 trailing, yet suddenly severed,
it puzzles me to think about it,
explain it to me, my lord,"
said Dandomi in the house.

Then Anggun Tungga replied:

170 "Young princess Dandomi,
on whom I, a stranger, lean my fate;
at this present time,
I can tell you,

listen, Dandomi, as I explain.
175 The reason I sit brooding,
and stand pensively now,

- indak do makan nan tak konyang,
 olun minun mbo (lai) kurang puéh;
 (nan) tido badan mbo nan sakik,
 180 indak do tubueh (lai) mbo nan domom.
 Bukan do salah dari Domi,
 satontang laku jo parangai,
 kan lai bak nan galik juo?
 Raso lun ado lai¹⁰² ubahnyo.
 185 Dandomi dongalah botue-botue,
 bulieh mbo sobuk mbo curaikan.
 Duduek jo monueng mbo kojokan,
 sojak daulu (lai) mbo tutuekan,
 bago Dandomi kan lah tau.
 190 Aluran badan dénai ko,
 ambo dék rajo di Piaman,
 dénai dék sutan (ko) di Tiku,
 takalo maso mbo ka ilie,
 maso di Tiku (lai) daulunyo,
 195 saucak kampueng (lai) rang Piaman,
 jimék ka tobieng sakotonyo;
 (o) godang kéték tuo mudo,
 niniek jo mamak rang Piaman,
 cukuk pangulu (lai) andikonyo,
 200 urang ka tobieng sakotonyo,
 malopéh dénai pai ka lauk.
 Mongko bih réla (lai) rang Piaman,
 mongko bih suko rang nagori,
 malopéh ambo poi badondang,
 205 jonji mbo karang (lai) jo rang kampueng,
 sotie jo niniek dengan mamak,
 jonji jo ibu (lai) déngan bapo;
 tujueh bulan jonji ka lauk,
 mongko ka mudiek mbo ka Tiku.
 210 Kini lérék babilang musin,
 lah tigo taun mbo tak pulang,
 jonji jo kampueng mbo talansueng,
 sotie jo mandéh nan talampau.
 Kini dék duduek ambo jo monueng,
 215 nan lobieh bona (ko) mbo pikiri,
 mangona dagang rang Piaman.

is not that my food is unsatisfying,
 nor that my drink is insufficient;
 it is not that I am sick,
 180 nor do I have a fever.
 Nor is it any fault in you,
 as to your behaviour,
 is it not the same as usual?
 I do not think it has changed.
 185 Dandomi, listen well,
 let me speak and explain.
 The reason I sit brooding,
 I have told you before,
 even though you already know it, of course.
 190 As for myself,
 because I am a ruler in Piaman,
 because I am a prince in Tiku,
 when I was going to sail away,
 in the days when I was in Tiku,
 195 all the people of Piaman,
 the entire town came to the shore;
 great and small, old and young,
 the elders of Piaman,
 together with the lineage heads,
 200 the whole townful came to the shore,
 to bid me farewell as I went to sea.
 The people of Piaman were only willing,
 my fellow-countrymen would only agree,
 to let me sail away,
 205 if I made a promise to the people of my village,
 a vow to the elders,
 a promise to my mother and father;
 I promised to go to sea for seven months,
 only then would I return to Tiku.
 210 Now many a twelvemonth has gone by,
 for three years I have not returned,
 what I promised to those at home has been exceeded,
 what I vowed to my mother has been transgressed.
 The reason I sit brooding now,
 215 what most occupies my mind,
 is thinking about the people of Piaman.

- Sajojak Tiku mbo tinggakan,
ontah lah gadueh (lai) rang di mudiek,
raso lah kusuk rang Piaman.
- 220 Ontah lah longang kampueng ambo,
lah suni gorén Pariaman,
urang ka lauk pai balaie,
ilie mencari badan ambo.
Nyo rang Tiku ambo kok karam,
- 225 nyo songko ditawan Ulando,
ilang dék lun tontu rimbo,
anyuk nan bolun lai obéh sungai.¹⁰³
Salamo ambo di Ruhun ko,
posan olun ka Piaman,
- 230 barito indak (lai) mbo kirinan.
Kini bak itu dék Dandomi,
agaklah badan kito ko,
nan bak cincin lokék di jari,
bak kain pamaluk tubueh,¹⁰⁴
- 235 kini lah patuk kito ungkai.
Gurau kucondan (lai) nan biaso,¹⁰⁵
salauk salamo iko,
(Concang
Munin) dék 'biat¹⁰⁶ jadi (nan) biaso,
dék galik pantang taubah,
- 240 akirat jalannyo basimpang,
kito kok tidak saamalan,
borilah isin mbo nak pulang,
ja lai tagamang mbo tinggakan.
Lopéh mudiek ambo daulu,
- 245 lopéh ka Tiku mbo kini ko,
tadogak ibu dēngan bapo,
korik kirabat lah takona,
Dandomi lopéh ambo pulang,"
kato Nan Tungga tongah rumah.
- 250 Baru tasobuk Tungga mudiek,
lah tabincang kampueng Piaman,
Dandomi dudueknyo tatimpo,
litak tulang son di anggoto,
barombak alam saisinyo.
- 255 Ja lai Dandomi ka manjawab,

Since I left Tiku,
 perhaps the people there have quarrelled,
 I think the men of Piaman are in disorder.
 220 Perhaps my village has become empty,
 Piaman is probably deserted,
 its people have sailed out to sea,
 gone away to seek me.
 The men of Tiku think I may have been ship-wrecked,
 225 they suppose I have been captured by the Dutch,
 because I am lost in an unknown forest,
 swept away by an unnamed river.
 All the time I have been in Ruhun,
 no message has gone to Piaman,
 230 I have sent no news there.
 This what you must do now, Dandomi,
 as for ourselves,
 we are like a ring cleaving to a finger,
 like clothing which wraps the body,
 235 but now we must take them off.
 Our usual joking and banter,
 all this long time,
 because character becomes customary,
 because the usual never changes,
 240 in the next world the ways divide,
 in case we have not been equally virtuous,
 give me permission to go home,
 do not feel abandoned when I leave you.
 Let me go back for a while,
 245 let me go to Tiku now,
 I miss my mother and father,
 I long for my family and kinfolk,
 Dandomi, give me leave to go home,"
 said Nan Tungga in the house.
 250 As soon as Tungga's going home was mentioned,
 when Piaman was spoken of,
 Dandomi sank to her knees,
 weak in her bones, joints and limbs,
 the whole world heaved.
 255 So far from answering,

- mandotiek rundieng lai tido,
gilo jo monueng nyo andunan.
Sanan bakato Nan Tungga:
"Nan bonsu puti Dandomi,
260 paménan anjueng nan tinggi,
agak taéran dalam ati,
maliék tingkah laku Domi,
ati rusueh batukuek ragu,
bacampue jo bimbang pulo.
265 Ambo tadogak nak ka Tiku,
ambo takona korong kampueng,
mbo mintak isin nak pulang,
rundieng jo monueng Domi jawab,
andai jo pégu kau andunan.
270 Di ma salah mbo batutue?
Muluk goran nan takasa?
Domi bak a dék jo ragu?"
katonyo tanyo Nan Tungga.
- Sanan manjawab Dandomi:
- 275 "O-tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
sutan pamuncak Piaman;
kobék nan orék ka tangga,
tagamang pulo parotian.
- Nan lobieh kini mbo monuengkan,
280 bukan rundieng tan tadorong,
indak muluk nan talompék.
Nan lobieh ambo monuengkan,
tuan tasobuk lah nak pulang,
tén ka korong kampueng dalam,¹⁰⁷
285 io ka Tiku Piaman;
nan lobieh marumik ati,
agaklah badan tuek mudo,
- tuan ka jadi 'mi langik,¹⁰⁸
tompang' dunie jo akirat;
290 kasieh sodang bajuraik,
tuan bao balaie larat.

Dandomi did not utter a single word,
but brooded deeply.

Then Nan Tungga spoke:

"Young princess Dandomi,
260 darling of the high *anjueng*,
I feel quite surprised,
seeing your behaviour,
distress and growing doubt,
mingled with anxiety.
265 I long to go to Tiku,
I miss my home,
I ask leave to go back,
you answer my words by brooding,
you react to my speech by being pensive.
270 Where is the fault in what I said?
Did my words accidentally offend you?
Why are you anxious, Domi?"
asked Nan Tungga.

Then Dandomi answered:

275 "Lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
supreme prince of Piaman;
a tight bond will be undone,
my feelings are quite disturbed.

What I am brooding on most
280 is not that your words went too far,
not that your speech was too hasty.
What I am brooding about most,
you say you want to go home,
yonder to the inner compound,
285 to Tiku Pariamam;
what worries me most,
as for yourself, my young lord,

you are my earth and sky,
my help in this world and the next;
290 while we are intertwined in love,
you take it and sail far away.

Bawa pocah ambalau¹⁰⁹ rorak,
 puntieng di ulu tuan ungkai;
 kobék nan orék tuan bukak,
 295 pocah ulu sia manyimpai?

Itu nan marumik ambo.
 Jan disobuk musin kini,
 jan diulang duo kali,
 nak pulang tuan ka kampueng,
 300 nak mudiek ka Pariaman.
 Olun réla malopéh mudiek,
 lun suko malopéh pulang,
 sobob bak a dék bak itu?

Bukan ibo jo bangkalai,
 305 rusueh jo suto nan baturang;
 bukan ibo ka bacorai,
 rusueh Mandugo tingga s'orang.

Anak pabapak tan ka pulang.
 Konalah si Mandugombak,
 310 anak s'orang sibiran tulang,
 ka tuan conggang bak kini,
 inyo dék sodang paimbau,
 anak dék sodang panuruk,
 bapantang conggang jo tuan,
 315 pantang génsé jo tuek mudo.
 Nan laku parangai anak,
 tingga salangkah manangih,
 conggang satapak mamokiek,
 kok kunun tingga ka Tiku.
 320 Nan lobieh bona marumik,
 kok jampang tuek mudo pulang,
 io ka Tiku Piaman,
 paningga tuan ka kampueng,
 konalah si Mandugombak,
 325 ka babapak jo rang lalu,
 ka manuruk jo rang lain,
 badan mbo sajo maoduehkan,
 Dandomi s'orang manangguengkan.

The binding breaks, the resin shatters,
 you wrench the blade from the hilt;
 you are undoing a tight bond,
 295 who will tie up the broken hilt?

That is what distresses me.
 Do not speak of it now,
 do not mention it again,
 your wish to go home,
 300 to return to Pariaman.
 I am not yet willing to let you return,
 I will not agree to let you go home,
 why is this so?

I am not sorry about the unfinished work,
 305 but sad that the silk is threadbare;
 I am not sorry about parting,
 but sad that Mandugo will be left behind.

The child keeps calling you, but you go home.
 Think about Mandugombak,
 310 your only child, a chip of your bone,
 whom you are going to part from now,
 for he is always calling you,
 always following you about,
 refuses to part from you,
 315 never stirs from your side.
 This is how he behaves,
 he weeps if left one step behind,
 cries out if separated by one pace,
 let alone if you desert him for Tiku.
 320 What really distresses me is this,
 if you should return home
 to Tiku Pariaman,
 when you have departed homeward,
 think of Mandugombak,
 325 he will treat a passer-by as father,
 he will follow a stranger,
 and I shall bear it alone,
 I shall endure it by myself.

330 Sojak samulo mbo katoan,
indak talotak dalam ati,
rundieng tan bao ka balakang.

Lai moh tuan ka balai,
dék¹¹⁰ batanam limau puruk?
lai moh anak ka dicorai,
335 dék tuan ajanyo panuruk?

Io bak andai pantun urang,
pantun garindam caro Minang:

baringin di Tobék Paueh,
tak guno tadorong bawang,¹¹¹
340 sulasieh daunnya mudo;
bédo babapak ka rang jaueh,
tak guno tadorong sayang,
anak kasieh ka tingga pulo.

Kok bulieh pintak jo pinto,
345 mongko pulang tan ka Tiku,
mongko mudiek ka Piaman,
nantian sakéték lai,
isuek pulang tan ka Tiku,
nak godang si Mandugombak;
350 baru codiek si Mandugombak,
ambo lopéh tuan ka kampueng,"
katonyo puti Dandomi.

(Lagu Sungai Tolang) Baru bagalang ka Tiku,
tibo (lai) andai dék Nan Tungga,
355 sanan bakato (lai) tuek mudo tu:
"Mano Dandomi jonyo ambo,
sumarak kampueng (lai) nan dalam ko,
mandonga tutue dari Domi,
taraso io tu dék ambo;
360 kalau bainok (lai) bamonuengkan,
lun patuk pulang mbo ka Piaman,
Mandugo kéték (lai) k' ambo conggang,
anak panuruk ambo corai.
Tapi samontang (lai) kok bak itu,

330 I have said it from the beginning,
but you paid no attention,
you ignored my words.

335 If you are going to market,
why did you plant rough-skinned limes?
If you are going to leave your child,
why did you teach him to follow you?

It is just as the *pantun* says,
the Minangkabau *pantun* and saying:

340 a *baringin* tree at Tobék Paueh,
it is futile to onion too much,
the leaves of the basil are young;
it is hard if your father is far away,
it is futile to love too much,
even a beloved child will be deserted.

345 If I could have my wish,
before you go home to Tiku,
before you return to Piaman,
wait a little longer,
go home to Tiku later,
and let Mandugombak get bigger;
350 as soon as he has grown up,
I will let you go home,"
said princess Dandomi.

355 As soon as he was forbidden to go to Tiku,
words were uttered by Nan Tungga,
the young lord spoke:
"Dandomi, say I,
glory of this inner compound,
hearing what you say,
I feel you are right;
360 if one ponders the matter carefully,
I ought not to go home to Piaman yet,
I would be leaving Mandugo while he was young,
and parting from a child who followed me.
But although that is so,

- 365 Dandomi simakkanlah kini.
 Agak rang korong (lai) kampueng ambo,
 rang dagang Tiku Pariaman,
 samaso ambo ka balaie,
 sotie nan tujuh bulan ponueh,
 370 jonji jo korong (lai) kampueng dénai.
 Kini lah sansai mbo tigo taun,
 lérék bamusin mbo tak pulang,
 ontah lah kusuk Pariaman,
 lah gadueh goran (lai) kampueng ambo,
 375 Agaklah mandéh di mudiek,
 ambo paménan (lai) anjueng tinggi,¹¹²
 ayam panaiek¹¹³ (lai) dék mandéh tu,
 jorék samato (lai) niniek mamak,
 Kok lai kau ibo jo rang Tiku,
 380 kok lai kau santun (lai) jo rang mudiek,
 (o) lopéh pulang mbo ko dék Domi.
 Kok lai kau isinkan ambo ka Tiku,
 indak ka lambék do di kampueng,
 ka doréh ilie mbo babaliek;
 385 inggo duo pokan (lai) di Piaman,
 pulang manjopuk titah kodin,
 mudiek mamintak rosie¹¹⁴ putuih,
 rajo nak tontu (lai) rang tukari,
 sutan nak joléh urang silieh,
 390 mencari gonti (lai) jadi rajo.
 Baru dapék ka gonti sutan,
 urak mangkuto mbo téh kapalo;
 pobilo kusuk tu lah salosai,
 umpamo korueh (kan) lah jonieh,
 395 babaliek ilie mbo jo dondang,
 ibo jo bapo nak mbo bao,
 korik jo kobieh k' ambo jopuk,
 olun ka sonang ati Domi,"
 katonyo sanan Nan Tungga.
- 400 Dek élok rayu tipu tan Tungga,
 dék rancak umbuek tuek mudo tu,
 raso ka io (lai) nyo Dandomi,
 raso ka bona nyo si Domi,
 bakato sanan Dandomi:

365 listen to me now, Dandomi.
 As to the people of my village,
 the men of Tiku Pariaman,
 when I was about to sail away,
 the vow was for seven full months,
 370 the promise to my home village.
 Now I have been far away for three years,
 for many a twelvemonth I have not gone home,
 Pariaman may be in confusion,
 there is probably disorder in my village.
 375 As for my mother at home,
 I am the darling of the high *anjueng*,
 my mother's pet chicken,
 the elders' one and only snare.
 If you have any pity for the people of Tiku,
 380 if you have any love for those at home,
 give me leave to return, Domi.
 If you allow me to go to Tiku,
 I shall not be long at home,
 but return here swiftly;
 385 for two weeks at most I shall be in Piaman,
 gone home to receive a sure command,
 returning to seek a decisive behest,
 so that with certainty the prince may be replaced,
 so that with clarity the ruler may be changed,
 390 to find a successor to the prince.
 As soon as a successor has been found,
 I shall doff the crown from my head;
 when the tangled has been straightened,
 if the muddy is made clear,
 395 I shall return here in my ship,
 bringing my mother and my father,
 fetching my kindred and relations,
 you will not yet be content,"
 said Nan Tunga.

400 Through the charm of Tunga's deceptive coaxing,
 through the elegance of the young lord's persuasion,
 Dandomi felt he was right,
 Domi felt it was true,
 and she said:

405 "O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
 sutan pamuncak rang Piaman,
 tuan ka pulang ka nagori,
 dogak ka kampueng (kan) lah lobieh,
 cinto lah bulék ka Piaman,
 410 raso tak dapék mbo galangan.
 Dék sénjang mbo maompang mati,
 urang tadogak jo kampuengnyo,
 nyato takona jo kotonyo,
 bak a nyo Domi manggalangnyo?
 415 Dék dénai rotak¹¹⁵ ko lah malang,
 bokéh bapijak ka toban,
 tompék bagantueng ko lah ka putuih.
 Io bak andai jo bida,
 tasuo pantun kato urang:

420 baringin nan di Tobék Paueh,
 (o) tak guno tadorong daun,
 (o) sulasieh tanam jo capo;
 bédo basabék rang jaueh,
 (o) tak guno tadorong santun,
 425 sodang kasieh corai pulo.

Tuan kok io lah ka pulang,
 mudiek ka Tikus kampueng dalam,

 ditobang indak do tatobang,
 bak manobang batang sampie,¹¹⁶
 430 kujorét¹¹⁷ sodang babungo,
 ditutueh sadaan mati;
 diompang indak do taompang,
 lah bak maompang aie ilie,
 mulorét apo ka gunonyo?
 435 k' ambo lopéh jo ati cuci,

k' ambo tulak jo muko jonieh.
 Tapi samontang kok bak itu,
 mongko mbo suko malopéh mudiek,
 mongko réla badan ambo ko,
 440 anak burueng ja lai tan bao,
 nuri ko ja lai tuan bao.

405 "Lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 supreme ruler of the men of Piaman,
 you are returning to your village,
 your longing for home has prevailed,
 your heart is set on going to Piaman,
 410 I feel I cannot prevent it.
 The reason it is hard to forbid you flatly,
 when someone longs for his home,
 clearly misses his village,
 how can I prohibit it?
 415 My fate is unlucky,
 the place I stand on will collapse,
 the support I depend on will break.
 It is just as in the proverb and adage,
 the *pantun* and saying are apt:
 420 the banyan tree at Tobék Paueh,
 it's useless to leaf too much,
 plant basil with *capo*;
 it's hard to have a friend far away,
 useless to love too much,
 425 in the midst of love, he leaves you.

 If you really are going home,
 back to Tiku and the inner compound,

 I tried to fell it but I could not,
 it is like felling a *sampie* tree,
 430 the *kujorét* is in flower,
 a dead branch is trimmed off;
 I tried to stop you but I could not,
 it is like stopping water flowing downstream,
 what is the point of suffering?
 435 I shall let you go with a good grace,

 I shall dismiss you with a clear countenance.
 But, even so,
 I shall only agree to let you return,
 I shall only consent to it,
 440 if you do not take the bird,
 if you do not take the parrot.

Sobob mbo ambék mbo galang bona,
 nuri paménan Mandugombak,
 parintang tangih (lai) d' atéh anjueng.
 445 Paningga tuan ka Piaman,
 konalah untueng Mandugombak,
 galik tasintaknyo tongah malam,
 mamokiek maimbau oyah,
 alah ka tinggang badan s'orang?
 450 O banak¹¹⁸ marintang manangih?

Si topueng (nan) jo daun dodok,¹¹⁹
 pucuek manjulai (lai) masuek padi;
 didukueng Mandugo tak ontok,
 dijujai nyo mongko¹²⁰ manangih.

455 Nuri parintang (lai) dék Mandugo,
 pamujuek tangih (lai) dék si buyueng,
 tukaran tubueh badan tuan;
 ja lai dibao (lai) burueng mudiek,"
 katonyo sanan (lai) si Dandomi.

460 Tadonga tutue (jo) itu,
 Nan Tungga rintang lah bapikie,
 tuek mudo rusueh dalam ati,
 pohom di batin bapikie juo;
 "Bak alah tinggang ambo ko andaknyo?

465 (Concang
 Munin) Dék nomueh sansai di kampueng ko,
 dék nomueh larat di¹²¹ Domi ko,
 io mananti burueng bona,
 sangajo nak mambao mudiek,
 paisi pintak ka Nan Gondo.

470 Kini nyo galang dék Domi ko,
 lah sénjang (jo) kumari ontah,
 lah sulik (dék) kumari bédo."¹²²

Dalam bapikie s'orang sajo,
 tobik pangona Anggun Nan Tungga,
 475 datang pikiran dék tuek mudo;
 diumbuek Dandomi Sutan,
 Tungga rayu jo baso élok,
 imbau datang dék Nan Tungga:

The reason I restrain and strictly forbid you
is that the parrot is Mandugombak's pet,
to distract him when he weeps in the *anjueng*.

445 When you have left for Piaman,
remember Mandugombak's fate,
he usually wakes up in the night,
cries out and calls his father,
what could I do by myself?
450 How should I distract him from his tears?

The *si topueng* and the *dodok* leaf,
the shoots hang down into the *padi*;
if he is carried, Mandugo is not silent,
if he is cajoled, then he weeps.

455 The parrot is a distraction for Mandugo,
a comforter of the boy's tears,
a substitute for yourself;
do not take the bird home,"
said Dandomi.

460 When he heard that,
Nan Tungga thought hard,
the young lord was troubled in his heart,
and his mind within him thought:
"What should I do?

465 Why I agreed to suffer in this place,
why I agreed to go on living with this Domi,
was precisely to wait for the bird,
my plan was to carry it back,
as a fulfilment of Nan Gondo's request.

470 Now this Domi forbids me,
it's difficult whichever way I turn,
it's hard whichever way I go."

While he was thinking to himself,
an idea occurred to Anggun Nan Tungga,
475 a thought came to the young lord;
he deceived Dandomi Sutan,
Tungga coaxed her with pleasant words,
Nan Tungga addressed her:

- 480 "Dandomi nan baiek budi,
 sumarak bintang di anjueng,
 nan sakarang iko kini,
 lah Domi lopéh mbo ka Tiku,
 lah kau isinkan mbo mudiek,
 ka Tiku kampueng Piaman;
 485 burueng kau galang mbo bao,
 nuri kau togah dénai bao.
 Sonang dalam kiro-kiro,
 pucuek dicinto ulam tibo,
 (o) nak aie pincuran tobik.
 490 Tapi samontang bak itu,
 k' ambo bukak batin sungguez,
 raik tasimpan k' ambo sobuk,
 Dandomi donga botue-botue.
 Aluran badan ambo ko,
 495 takalo maso daulu,
 maso di Tiku Piaman,
 takalo ilie jo dondang,
 mongko suko rang nagori,
 mongko isin niniek mamak,
 500 malopéh ambo pai ka lauk,
 pai mencari mamak ilang.
 Kini mamak mbo lah di siko,
 nan oyah kontan Domi bona,
 bagola Katuek¹²³ Monggueng Kayo.
 505 Sénjang mambao ka Tiku,
 sulik mambao mbo pulang,
 oyah kau rajo di siko,
 balau¹²⁴ dék sutan di Ruhun;
 kok mbo bao mamak mudiek,
 510 sulueh béndang nan ka padam,
 comin toruih nan ka pocah.
 Pado oyah kau mbo bao,
 mbo tuntuk burueng Dandomi,
 ka jadi sosi di Tiku,
 515 panjawab tanyo rang kampueng,
 tukaran tubueh oyah kau,
 tando nan ilang lah dapék,
 anyuk tando lah mbo pintéh;

"Kind-hearted Dandomi,
 480 radiant star of the *anjung*,
 at the present time,
 you have given me leave to go to Tiku,
 you have permitted me to return,
 to Tiku and my home in Piaman;
 485 the bird you forbid me to take,
 the parrot you prohibit me from taking.
 My heart is content,
 I wished for a shoot and a salad came,
 I desired water and it gushed from a conduit.
 490 However,
 I shall reveal a hidden truth,
 a secret stored away I shall impart,
 listen carefully, Dandomi.
 With regard to myself,
 495 in former days,
 when I was in Tiku Piaman,
 when I went away in the ship,
 my fellow-countrymen would only agree,
 the elders would only consent,
 500 to let me go to sea,
 if I went to seek my lost uncles.
 Now my uncle is here,
 your own father,
 named Datuek Monggueng Kayo.
 505 It would be hard to take him to Tiku,
 difficult for me to take him home,
 your father is ruler here,
 for he is a prince in Ruhun;
 if I took my uncle home,
 510 the bright torch would be extinguished,
 the far-seeing mirror would be broken.
 Rather than take your father,
 I asked for your bird,
 to be a witness in Tiku,
 515 to answer the questions of those at home,
 a substitute for your father,
 proof that the lost had been found,
 proof that I had rescued the drowning;

- itu sobob karononyo,
 520 mulo burueng ambo tuntuk.
 Kini kau galang mambao,
 nuri kau togah mambao;
 lah sonang di dalam ati,
 mamak mbo bao (lai) pulang,
 525 oyah Dandomi mbo bao.
 Baréla-rélalah Domi,
 baisin jo mamak ambo;
 baru pulang liau¹²⁵ ka Tikú,
 jan diarok ka babaliek,
 530 jan dicinto ka Ruhun ko,
 sirieh ka suruk ka gagangnyo,
 pinang pulang ka tampueknyo.¹²⁶
 Baisin sudahlah Domi,
 io jo oyah kontan kau,"
 535 katonyo rundieng Nan Tungga.
- Dék élok tipu Nan Tungga,
 dék rancak umbuek tuek mudo,
 raso io nyo Dandomi,
 raso ka bona nyo 'ndomi;
 540 lah bédo kumari sulik.
 Dandomi sanan manjawab:
 "O tuan Anggun Nan Tungga,
 rajo rang Tikú Piaman,
 tontangan badan oyah tu,
 545 jan disobuk-sobuk juo,
 nak mambao balau pulang,
 mampacabang ati dénai,
 mampamabuek kiro-kiro.
 Oyah mbo sutan di nagori,
 550 balau rajo di Ruhun ko;
 sojak oyah di Ruhun ko,
 iduk ka bokéh rang batanyo,
 mati ka tompék bakaue,
 (Lagu Sungai sandaran untueng rang di Ruhun.
 Tolang) Sojak baliau jadi sutan,
 urang maumin sakotonyo,
 bokéh mamintak (lai) batin sunggueh.
 Kalau tan bao oyah ambo,

520 that is the cause and the reason,
 why I asked for the bird.
 Now you forbid me to take it,
 you prohibit me from taking the parrot;
 I am content,
 I shall take my uncle home,
 525 I shall take your father, Dandomi.
 Say farewell, Domi,
 say goodbye to my uncle;
 once he has returned to Tiku,
 do not expect him to come back,
 530 do not hope that he will come to Ruhun,
 the betel-leaf will revert to its stem,
 the areca-nut will return to its stalk.
 Say your final farewell, Domi,
 to your own father,"
 535 said Nan Tungga.

Through the charm of Nan Tungga's deception,
 through the elegance of the young lord's trickery,
 Dandomi thought that it was true,
 Domi thought that it was so;
 540 it was difficult whichever way she turned.
 Dandomi then replied:
 "Lord Anggun Nan Tungga,
 ruler of Tiku Pariaman,
 with regard to my father,
 545 do not speak of it again,
 that you will take him home,
 it makes my heart discouraged,
 it makes my thoughts confused.
 My father is ruler in this country,
 550 he is a prince here in Ruhun;
 since my father has been in Ruhun,
 alive, men come to him with questions,
 dead, they will turn to him with prayers,
 on him the men of Ruhun lean their fates.
 555 Since he became ruler,
 every person here has been devout,
 he is the man they ask for secret truths.
 If you take my father away,

- 560 sulueh béndang raso nan padam,
 comin nan toruh nan ka pocah,
 tagéndéng alam (lai) tompék togak,
 Ruhun nan tak barono lai.
 Nan sakarang (lai) iko kini,
 bialah burueng tuek mudo bao,
 565 jinjienglah nuri ko ka Piaman,
 tukaran badan oyah dénai.
 Tapi samontang kok bak itu,
 konalah badan diri ambo;
 tando baoyah ka Tiku,
 570 luruih babapo mbo ka Piaman,
 salauk salamo iko,
 sojak umue badan Domi ko,
 olun manjalang (lai) kampueng bako,
 olun mbo jojak (lai) tanah Tiku.
 575 Kini tampuek lah tuan jinjieng,
 tali tuek mudo ko nan mangumpa,¹²⁷
 tuan ka pulang (lai) ka Piaman;
 mbo tak réla (ko) ditinggakan,
 samo jo ambo ka Piaman,
 580 samo jo dénai kito mudiek.
 Mandugo dibao ka Tiku,
 lai di-pai-jonguek (lai) kampueng bako,
 dijojak korong Pariaman.
 Pobilo musin ka pulang?
 585 Po ari dondang ko ka balaie?
 Obéhkan kotu ka batulak,
 kok lai duo ari nan ka tibo,
 borilah tau badan mbo kini,
 nak obéh Domi bakoméh.
 590 Golang di tangan (lai) k' ambo ungkai,
 cincin di jari mbo bukak,
 untuek panitik sangka nuri.
 Tali nak burueng ka dituka,
 pulang nak jo sangka baru,
 595 (kan) mudiek nak jo tali togueh,
 ambo jan cacék di Piaman,
 tando ka Tiku saulang ko,"
 katonyo sanan Dandomi tu.

I think the bright torch will be extinguished,
560 the far-seeing mirror will be broken,
the world will tilt beneath our feet,
Ruhun's brightness will depart.
As it is now,
you may take the bird,
565 carry the parrot to Piaman,
a substitute for my father.
But nevertheless,
with regard to myself,
as a sign that my father is from Tiku,
570 that my father is truly from Piaman,
all this long time,
throughout my life,
I have never visited the home of my *bako*,
I have never set foot on the soil of Tiku.
575 Now you have carried the stalk in your fingers,
you have wound up the rope,
and you are going home to Piaman;
I am not willing to be left behind,
take me with you to Piaman,
580 let me go back with you.
We will take Mandugo to Tiku,
I shall go and see my *bako*'s home,
shall set foot in the village of Piaman.
When is the time of our return?
585 In how many days will the ship sail?
Tell me at what moment we depart,
if it is two days hence,
let me know now,
so that with certainty I may prepare.
590 I shall take the bracelets from my arms,
I shall remove the rings from my fingers,
to be hammered into a cage for the parrot.
The bird's cord shall be replaced,
so that it may go home with a new cage,
595 so that it may return with a strong cord,
lest I be censured in Piaman,
and to mark this first visit to Tiku,"
said Dandomi.

Baru nak poi Domi mudiek,
 600 baru manuruknyo ka Piaman,
 batukuek ragu Anggun Tungga,
 batambah sênjang (lai) tuek mudo,
 bapikie s'orang dalam ati:
 "Bak alah tinggang ko andaknyo?
 605 Jampang kok poi Domi mudiek,
 kasieh di Tikus ka tabukak,
 raik di kampueng ka takombang,
 niat dikarang tak ka sampai,
 kaue jo Gondo ka tagalang."
 610 Dalam bapikie-(lai) pikie s'orang,
 datang palito dalam ati;
 Nan Tungga rang codiek barundieng,
 ditipu Domi dék Nan Tungga,
 diumbuek pulo jo muluk manih.
 (Concang Tibo (lai) andai dék Nan Tungga:
 Munin)
 "Mano Dandomi nyo ambo,
 128 sojak ta...

.....Dandomi.
 Tapi samontang kok bak itu,
 620 malakik kito ka mudiek,
 gontalah tabueh ka balai,
 Domi jalang balai panjang,
 gualah tabueh ka balérong,
 nak baimpun rang kampueng ko,
 625 urang Sitombue Bondue Ruhun,
 niniek mamak kampueng nan dalam,
 baiek pangulu jo andiko,
 puti nan duo pulueh limo,
 nan samo godang jo Domi,
 630 nak datang ka balai panjang.
 Baru baimpun rang siko,
 baréla-rélalah kau,
 baisin-isin jo rang kampueng,

When Domi said she wanted to go back,
 600 to follow him to Piaman,
 Anggun Tungga's anxiety became greater,
 the young lord's dilemma grew worse,
 he thought to himself:
 "What should I do now?
 605 If Domi goes back,
 my love in Tiku will be revealed,
 my secret at home will be disclosed,
 the vow we made will not be fulfilled,
 my promise to Gondo will be frustrated."
 610 While he thought to himself,
 a lamp shone in his mind;
 Nan Tungga was clever with words,
 he deceived Dandomi,
 he beguiled her with sweet speech.
 615 Nan Tungga spoke:

 "Dandomi, say I,
 for some time...

Dandomi.
 But even so,
 620 before we return,
 sound the drum in the council-hall,
 go to the long hall, Domi,
 strike the drum in the meeting-hall,
 so that the people of this village may assemble,
 625 the people of Sitombue Bondue Ruhun,
 the elders of the inner compound,
 together with the lineage heads,
 the twenty-five princesses,
 who are of an age with you, Domi,
 630 so that they may come to the long hall.
 When the people of this place have assembled,
 say your farewells,
 say goodbye to the people of your village,

- 635 basupaha bajawék tangan;
 abihkan sayang jo nagori,
 sudahkan santun jo rang siko.
 Sobob bak alah dék bak itu?
 Baru tibo Domi di Tikú,
 to ka dapék ilie lai,
 640 to ka mungkin babaliek ilie.
 Sobob bak alah dék bak itu?
 Agaklah mandéh mbo di Tikú,
 rumah godang sambilan ruang,
 anak s'orang badan ambo ko,
 645 anjueng to ado ka pauni,¹²⁹
 rumah tak dapék ka parintang.
 Untueng bona kau manuruk;
 lah tibo Domi di mudiek,
 alang¹³⁰ ka suko ati mandéh,
 650 bungo satangkai lah tibo,
 ka paménén kampueng dalam,
 payueng sakaki di nagori,¹³¹
 bokéh balindueng kapanasan.
 Baréla sudahlah Domi,
 655 baisin bonalah kau,
 jo korik kobieh di siko,"
 katonyo Anggun Nan Tungga.

 Dék rancak umbuek tuek mudo,
 dék élok tipu Nan Tungga,
 660 aluran badan Dandomi,
 (Lagu Piaman) lah sénjang Domi bapikie,
 lah sulik kumari bédo.¹³²

clasp hands with them;
 635 cease from loving your village,
 have done with affection for the people here.
 Why should this be so?
 Once you have arrived in Tiku,
 you will not be able to leave again,
 640 it will not be possible to come home.
 What is the reason for this?
 As to my mother in Tiku,
 she has a nine-roomed family house,
 I am her only child,
 645 the *anjueng* has no one to occupy it,
 the house has no one to cheer it.
 What luck it is that you are coming!
 When you have arrived, Domi,
 how happy my mother will be!
 650 The single flower will have come,
 to be the darling of the inner compound,
 the sole umbrella in the village,
 a place to shelter when too hot,
 Say your last farewells, Domi,
 655 say goodbye well and truly,
 to your kindred and relations here,"
 said Anggun Nan Tungga.

 Because of the charm of the young lord's deceit,
 because of the elegance of Nan Tungga's guile,
 660 as for Dandomi,
 it was hard for her to think,
 it was difficult whichever way she turned.

NOTES

1. In some printed versions of *kaba*, for example *Moerai Batoe* in van Hasselt, 1881b, pp 75-104, the text is printed in lines; in others, especially more recent Indonesian editions, the text is printed *in continuo*, the units being separated by commas, dashes or spaces. The MSS of *kaba*, of which portions are reproduced in van Ronkel's catalogues, were nearly all written *in continuo* without any separation of the units.
2. With regard to length of line in printed editions of *kaba*, Braginsky has shown (1975, pp 50-51) that 8- and 9-syllable lines predominate in the four *kaba* he has investigated. The figures in Table 3 on p 51 of his book are reproduced below.

Syllables per line	Rantjak Dilabueh	Si Umbu- ik Mudo	Murai Batu	Tuanku nan Tjeredek	Average
(Frequency of occurrence, per cent)					
7	2.0	4.3	2.3	-	2.17
8	27.0	58.0	15.0	18.7	29.66
9	62.7	28.7	59.3	57.0	51.97
10	8.3	7.3	18.3	14.3	12.09
11	-	1.7	3.0	4.7	2.33
12	-	-	2.0	2.3	1.08
13	-	-	-	3.0	0.75

The remarks of the 19-century Dutch observers are of interest in this connection. Van der Toorn agrees on the preponderance of 8- and 9-syllable lines in both oral and written forms of *kaba*. In the foreword to his edition of *Manjau Ari* he writes:

"Even als de geschreven legenden zijn ook deze overleveringen samengesteld uit regels van acht of negen lettergrepen, die echter door den zanger niet zelden vermeerderd, en ook wel eens een enkelmaal tot zeven gebracht worden." (p 3)

("Like the written legends, these legends too are composed of lines of 8 or 9 syllables, which are however not infrequently increased by the singer, and also occasionally reduced to seven.")

And D Gerth van Wijk, in the introduction to his edition of *De Geschiedenis van Prinses Balkis*, writes of a 9-syllable norm and frequent occurrences of (in equal numbers) 8- and 10-syllable lines. However his assertion (for which the authority is not clear), that fewer than 8 and more than 10 syllables are unacceptable, does not accord with Braginsky's figures. He writes, on p II:

"Iedere regel moet bestaan uit 9 lettergrepen als normaal getal; dikwijls evenwel vergenoegt men zich met 8, terwijl even dikwijls het getal wordt uitgebreid tot 10; minder dan 8 of meer dan 10 mag in geen geval, zulke regels zijn *djanggal*."

("Each line should normally consist of nine syllables; however people often content themselves with eight, and equally often the number is increased to ten; fewer than eight or more than

ten are not permitted on any account, (for) such lines are *djanggal*." *Djanggal* (*janggal* in the modern spelling) means 'sounding wrong'.

3. For descriptions of standard Minangkabau, see van der Toorn's *Minangkabausche Spraakkunst*, Dahnil Adnani's thesis, *Minangkabau sentences and their constituents*, and Khaidir Anwar's dissertation, *A study of Minangkabau speech sounds*.
4. For more notes on phonetic correspondences between Minangkabau and Malay/Indonesian, see van der Toorn's *Woordenboek*, pp vii-x, his *Minangkabausche Spraakkunst*, pp x-xiii, and Johns's *Rantjak Dilabueh*, pp xx-xxii.
5. That some kinds of poetry rely more on formulae than others - the Homeric epics, for example, are more formulaic than poems in less demanding metres - was pointed out by Bowra (1952, p 236).
6. *Pantun* in the story are also known as *bungo* (flowers), *dau* (leaves), *dau kunik* (turmeric leaves), or *rantieng* (twigs).
7. Kinds of plant, *Clinogyne* spp. and *Donax* spp.
8. Probably the shrub *Blumea balsamifera*.
9. Parts of a loom, illustrated (as *karoq soeri*) in van Hasselt, 1881a, pl. CXV, 1.
10. This is simply an expression of modesty, since Munin had, of course, been asked to sing.
11. Here and in line 11, *kok lai* is slightly more polite and tentative than *kok* by itself: 'if I might' as opposed to 'if I could'.
12. The slicing of tobacco leaves is referred to.
13. *ko ari* (*iko ari*) is a colloquial inversion of the normal *ari ko*. The time was about 9.00 p.m.
14. This was a smaller than usual number of *pantun*, possibly because Munin's family were present (*pantun* are often 'mudo'), or because he did not want to waste time.
15. The particle *do* after the negative (equivalent to Malay *adanya*) here has the effect of slightly increasing the degree of formality. In different contexts, it can have other effects.
16. The usual pronunciation of *jan lai*, 'let not', 'do not'.
17. Munin often used this couplet (lines 15-16) during the introductory part of a performance. See, for example, lines 47-48 of transcription B.
18. Here *lai* carries the implication of 'fortunately', 'as is a good thing'. Thus: 'That you have, fortunately, come to the ship'.
19. *Dunie* often means 'worldly pleasures', 'amusements', and a local informant suggested that here it meant *kucikak* (banter, joking). Having in mind the phrase *saléndang dunie* (ornament of the world, beautiful or handsome person), Dr Khaidir Anwar has suggested as an alternative translation of this line: 'The beautiful Santan replied:'

20. Short for *datuek*
21. An alternative form of *tuan* (not of *sutan*, which Munin does not use as a title for Nan Tungga).
22. *Lai* here and in line 82 suggests approval, as in line 29 above.
23. *Lai* in this case means 'there is', like *ado* in the next line.
24. Perhaps a form of *cap*, *cawap* is used by Munin and other *tukang sijobang* in the sense of 'sign' or 'mark' (see line 441), and with the meaning of 'suitable' (see line 103 of transcription D in Chapter IV).
25. The sense is figurative: 'we shall be behaving acceptably'.
26. According to Munin, *bakéndang* means 'to wear a *saléndang*, or scarf', and van der Toorn gives *kain kéndang* as 'voor dagelijksche kleeren, vooral van de *saléndang* der vrouwen' ('for everyday clothes, especially of the women's *saléndang*') (See van der Toorn, 1891b, s.v. *kéndang*.) Another meaning of *kéndang*, according to Dr Khaidir Anwar, is 'to lift up'.
27. *Lai* here emphasises *nomueh*. Cf. the emphatic use of *ada* in Malay.
28. With this tune, filler-syllables are virtually never used, as can be seen in the next 70 lines.
29. According to Munin and another informant in Payakumbuh, *rim pang* means 'to cut'. Other Minangkabau informants take it to mean 'to separate'. Van der Toorn's *Woordenboek* has: 'tak of uitwas dwars of gaffelvormig aan een andere of aan den hoofdstam verbonden' ('branch or outgrowth bound to another or to the main stem transversely or in forked shape').
Anjolai is a cereal, *Coix lachryma-jobi*.
30. Munin interpreted *gundolai* as *main-main*, 'playing about'. In the notes to van der Toorn's *Geschiedenis van Soetan Manangkerang*, *goendalai* is translated as 'vertraging, ophouding van eenig werk' ('the retardation, delay of some task'), and is assumed to be related to *gandala* (van der Toorn, 1885, p 357).
31. *Lai* here means 'there are', like *ado* in the previous line. (Cf. line 90)
32. A small, unpleasant-smelling flying bug, *Leptocoriza varicornis*.
33. This may have been a slip for *sosa*, 'regret'. But by analogy with *manyoda untueng*, 'to bewail one's lot', *soda* can perhaps mean 'regret'.
34. Short for *asa lai*, 'provided that'.
35. An abbreviation of *étén*, 'yonder'.
36. *Bunjai*, *jujaian*, *paso*, *cukie* (Lines 198-200).
Bunjai: a fringe formed by the ends of the threads of the warp furthest from the weaver. (See van der Toorn's *Woordenboek*. This was confirmed by a weaver in the village of Pandai Sikat, near Padang Panjang.)

Jujaian: perhaps the same as *gujaian*, which (according to the weaver at Pandai Sikat) are palm-leaf ribs (*lidi*) thrust among the threads of the warp to fix the pattern. In van Hasselt's *Ethnographische Atlas* they are the 'klapperblad-nerven r' in plate CXV, 1.

Paso: the beam at the weaver's end of the loom on to which the woven fabric is wound. (Van Hasselt 1881a, pl CXV, 1, f, and pl CXVI, 2).

Cukie: This may refer to the use of the *pancukie* to separate the threads of the warp so that gold thread may be woven in (see van Hasselt, 1881a, pl CXV, 3). Alternatively, as suggested by the weaver at Pandai Sikat, it may refer to the picking open of the threads (with a *palapah cukie*) in order to insert the *jujaian*.

In his recited version of this passage, Munin used the line:
dicukie lalu ka ujuengnyo.

Munin did not know the precise meaning of any of these four terms.

37. This phrase and others, similar in construction and meaning, are commonly used in *sijobang* and *randai* to round off speeches, or parts of speeches, in a polite and slightly apologetic manner. Other examples nearby are lines 247, 275, 301 and 312.
38. Short for *ontah*, 'perhaps', 'I don't know'.
39. *Salah* is an abbreviation of *asalah*, 'provided that', 'as soon as'. So too in line 236.
40. A local informant suggested that this meant a fatal illness, since rolling up the cloth is the final act in weaving. Munin was not sure of the meaning.
41. *Lai moh*, 'if it is true that...'
42. Limes of various kinds are used as medicines.
43. 'for what?' (*akan a?*)
44. I.e. *sumbarang*, 'any', 'whatever'.
45. With the *Lagu Danéh*, note the use of filler-syllables beginning with *n*.
46. A special decorative cloth placed over a corpse while it awaits burial. It is often red (see next line). The white cloth in which the body is buried is called *kain kapan*.
47. Gold or silver thread, named after Macao, its supposed place of origin.
48. The repetition of *la ilaha ila Allah*, 'there is no god but Allah', in the hope of bringing blessing to the deceased. This ceremony is rarely practised by modernist Muslims.
49. *Kurondo* probably means 'chamber' here, rather than 'coffin'. Munin used it with the meaning 'chamber' or *anjueng* in his recitation thus:

Tombi Bosa togak bajalan, Tombi Bosa stood up and walked,
turun di anjueng nan tinggi, descended from the high *anjueng*,
tinggalah Dayang di kurondo, Dayang remained in the chamber,

Kurondo comin would thus mean 'glazed chamber'. The *anjueng* is, in fact, often separated from the main room by a glazed partition. The translation 'glazed chamber' is also likely because it parallels *anjueng* in the next line. (In van der Toorn's *Woordenboek*, *karando katjo* is likened to *kamba katjo*, which is described as a literary term for a royal chamber. See van der Toorn 1891b, s.v. *karando*.)

50. *Dék* seems to be a filler here.
51. *Jo* here means 'about', 'concerning'.
52. This line makes little sense, and may be a mixture of two other formulae used by Munin to express dismay and confusion:

baguyang iman dalam dado, 'His resolution swayed within him',
and *barombak alam saisinyo*, 'The whole world heaved',
e.g. in Transcription B, line 254.
53. In this line and the next one, *nyo* is an abbreviation of *jonyo* (*janyo* is standard Minangkabau), which may itself be an abbreviation of *ujanyo* (=Malay *ujarnya*). *Jonyo* and *nyo* mean 'say' or 'think'.
54. *Lai* here is emphatic, as in line 136 above, and lines 433 and 435 below.
55. Perhaps related to *damban*, 'sluggish' (see Moehammad Thaib, 1935). See also Wilkinson s.v. *dembai*, where *berjalan berdembai-dembai* is said to mean 'to slouch when walking'.
56. It is not clear what *ubék* means here. Munin uses it elsewhere, both with its normal meaning (remedy), and in contexts like this one, where it seems to mean 'intending to' or perhaps 'going towards'. Munin gave *manuju* (going towards) as a synonym, but another local informant equated it with *niat* (intending to).
57. *Oncu* (like *unsu* and *bonsu*) means 'aunt younger than one's mother', and is a respectful term of address to women of one's mother's generation. *Ociek* (from *kociek*) has a similar use.
58. Literally, 'split thread'. A thread of low quality.
59. Lines 504-505 mean that the oath was a very solemn one, but I was unable to find out anything about the ceremony which they seem to refer to. *Batu sondi* is a stone support for a house-pillar.
60. An abbreviation of *oncu*.
61. *Cimantueng*: a tree, probably *Elaeocarpus paniculatus* or *Aporosa prainiana*.
62. In standard Minangkabau pronounced *tarak*, 'to seclude oneself'.
63. Literally 'rock with a gong'. A rock with this name, which resounded when struck, is mentioned in Muhammad Radjab's autobiography, *Semasa Ketjil di Kampung*, on p 9 of the 1974 edition.

64. *Sakék*: the name of a number of small epiphytes.
Nibueng: *Oncosperma filamentosum*.
65. *Bonai*: an unidentified tree.
66. I.e. Gondorah will drink the water which gathers in the knots of trees.
67. *Gorén* (in standard Minangkabau *garan*) is not only interrogative (like the related Indonesian *gerangan*) but also means 'probably' in statements.
68. By convention the *tukang sijobang* adopts a humble attitude towards his audience. For the same reason, *mak* is used in line 10.
69. The opening two *pantun* are self-critical in tone, probably because this performance by Munin followed one by his pupil As, who is much younger and has a stronger voice. Compared with As, Munin modestly suggests, the audience may find him disappointing. (Munin used the same two *pantun* in similar circumstances three weeks earlier.)
70. *Buluehkan* is a nonsense-word (a verb formed from the noun *bulueh*, 'bamboo') coined to provide a rhyme for *rusuehkan* three lines lower down.
71. According to local informants, a kind of eagle.
72. A village near the one where this performance took place.
73. Lines 19-20 are a proverbial expression of disappointment, which Munin later told me referred to the unhappy incidents of that night. The *pantun* is especially apt because the wedding ceremonies include staining the bride's finger-nails with henna.
74. This remark by a member of the audience is meant to suggest jokingly that, if Munin is referring to himself in the last *pantun*, he is exaggerating his woes.
Posai here has the meaning of 'satisfied with'.
Di (in some areas used for *dék*) here means 'incurring', 'suffering', so that *di a?* = 'suffering what?', 'what's the matter?'
75. Short for *agak*, 'about'.
76. A tree, *Hibiscus floccosus*.
77. *Luluehkan* makes no sense here; its function is to rhyme with *rusuehkan* in line 28. Similar is *malulueh* in line 40.
78. An *élak* is about 69 cm.
79. *-an* as a verbal suffix has the same meaning as *-kan* but is less formal in tone, and is more common in daily speech.
80. Short for *abih*, i.e. 'all of you'.
81. I.e. inaccessible.

82. This *pantun* (lines 29-39) was explained to me later by Munin as alluding to the bride's attack of hysteria. On an earlier occasion, when Munin used the same *pantun*, the incurable ailment mentioned was supposed to mean unrequited love. (This was explained to me, and was also clear from the preceding and following *pantun*.) Both times I heard Munin use this *pantun*, it lacked a fifth line in the first half.
83. *Pandan* often foreshadows the use of *badan* in the second half of the *pantun*, and in this case *badan* could well have replaced *kami* in line 43.
84. A common place-name in Minangkabau.
85. As well as filling metrical and musical gaps in lines, *anyo lai*, like *ai*, also occurs on its own during the introductory *pantun*. Here extra syllables beginning with *n*, which are a feature of *Lagu Danéh*, have been added.
86. This *pantun* expresses once more the conventional modesty of the *tukang sijobang*.
87. *Nyo* in lines 54, 55, 57 and 58 may be an abbreviation of *naknyo*, rather than bearing the meaning 'say' or 'think'.
88. I have been unable to discover what this word means.
89. As the main aim of recording this performance was to compare it with an earlier performance by Munin of the same scene, I stopped taping at this point (thus missing a few introductory *pantun*), in order to avoid having to turn the tape over later in mid-scene, and resumed a few minutes later when Munin began the narrative.
90. *Manjujai* means to coax, smile at, behave fondly to, especially so as to make a baby laugh, and *bajujai* therefore means to coax, etc. one another (according to Dr Khaidir Anwar; van der Toorn's *Woordenboek* and Thaib Soetan Pamoentjak give a more limited meaning: to evoke an imitative response, make a baby laugh.) This meaning would make sense here; however there is some case here (because of the parallelism with *bajuraik* in the previous line), and even more in line 115 (where the word occurs again), for regarding *bajujai* as derived from *jujai*, part of a loom (see line 198 of Transcription A, and note), and thus having the meaning 'interwoven' or 'bound together'. In line 454 of Transcription B, *jujai* presumably means 'coax' etc. Perhaps for Munin the word *bajujai* combines the ideas of mutual fondness and interweaving.
91. Also referred to as Mandugo Ombak ('measuring the depth of the waves').
92. According to a local informant this expression usually takes the form: *tinggi bak baanjueng-anjueng*, 'tall as if lifted up', and is often coupled with *godang bak baamba-amba*, 'big as if built up', to describe children who grow quickly. Munin said that *anjueng-banjueng* was a mistake for *baanjueng-anjueng*.
93. Lines 96-97 are proverbial expressions for describing wilful behaviour.

94. I.e. carried with legs astride the hip. Carrying on the back is *mandukueng balakang*.
95. A word not in the dictionaries I have consulted, but said by Munin to mean the same as *monueng*. Perhaps connected with *terpegun*, 'pensive' (Wilkinson s.v. *pěgun*).
96. *Pintu* is the usual word for window. *Pintu jonjang* is used for doors leading out of the house.
97. Like 'quite' in English, *agak* can have an intensifying force (as here) as well as a moderating one.
98. *Lauk* here is an alternative form of *laruk* (standard Minang *laruik*, Malay *larut*), 'far', 'long'.
99. According to Munin *andunkan* is synonymous with *kojokan*, 'do', 'act', 'perform'.
100. *Tidak rago* with a verb means 'without' implying that this is a surprising or unusual state of affairs; e.g. *poi indak rago disurueh*, 'went without needing to be asked'.
101. Lines 163-165: three proverbial phrases for unexpected mishaps.
102. *Lun...lai* means 'not yet' (cf. Malay *belum lagi*).
103. Lines 226-227: well-known expressions meaning 'completely lost'.
104. Lines 233-234 suggest that Nan Tungga and Dandomi are both well-matched and intimate.
105. Lines 236-242 are a farewell formula which recurs (in varying forms) two or three times in Munin's narration of the story (for example when Intan Korong says goodbye to Nan Tungga's 300 followers). According to Dr Khaidir Anwar, *tabiat pantang taubah*, 'character never changes', is a proverb. Here it is quoted in rather garbled form. The meaning of lines 240-242 seems to be: 'In the next world some go to heaven, some to hell. In case we go to different places, goodbye'.
106. I.e. *tabiat*, 'character', 'nature'.
107. I.e. that of a prince.
108. Because of the tune, *bumi* is shortened to '*mi*', and (probably) *tompangan* to *tompang*' in the next line.
109. *Ambalau* is a kind of resin used for fixing knife-blades into their handles.
110. This seems to be an ellipsis for *bak a dék...?* 'why?'.
111. *Tadorong bawang* is nonsense, put in for rhyming purposes. The same is true of *tadorong daun* in line 421.
112. This may be a slip, since the *anjueng* is traditionally occupied by unmarried girls.

113. Literally, chicken that comes into the house, i.e. is treated indulgently. Like *jórék samato*, it is a well-known phrase for someone who is precious or favoured.
114. According to Munin, *rosie* is synonymous with *paréntah*, 'command' (Malay *perintah*), although presumably it is related to the Malay/Indonesian *rahasia*, 'secret'.
115. 'Fate', because thought to be shown by the cracks (*rotak*), i.e. lines, on one's palm.
116. A kind of sugar-palm, renowned for its hardness.
117. An unidentified flower.
118. Probably a slip for *bak a nak*.
119. *Si topueng*: an unidentified tree. *Dodok*: name for a number of trees, *Erythrina* spp.
120. *Mongko* means 'only then'. I.e. the child responds perversely by crying when it receives the most attention.
121. Probably a slip for *jo*, 'with'.
122. Lines 471-472 are idiomatic expressions for being in a dilemma.
123. A slip. Munin may have been thinking of Katimongguengan, Monggueng Kayo's other name.
124. An alternative form of *baliau*, the honorific third person pronoun.
125. Short for *baliau*.
126. Lines 531-532 are used proverbially to mean a return to a good former state.
127. A proverbial expression meaning 'you have fulfilled your obligations'. In this case it refers to Nan Tungga's marriage with his uncle's daughter.
128. At this point I had to turn the tape over, and so missed a few lines. I noted that the gist of them was Nan Tungga's expression of pleasure that Dandomi proposed to come to Tiku. In the other performance by Munin of this scene which I taped, Nan Tungga's words at this point were:

"Mano Dandomi (lai) jonyo ambo,
 mandonga buah (lai) tutue kau,
 sojuek rasonyo (lai) kiro-kiro.
 Mbo ka pulang (ko) ka Piaman,
 untueng si Domi nak poi mudiek,
 ambo bao kok lun ka nomueh.

Bijo barondang kan lai tumbueh,
 kok kunun mumbang (lai) jo kalapo;
 balaie s'orang ambo lai nomueh,
 kok kunun (lai) ka baduo.

Samo jo Domilah ka Piaman."

The following is a translation:

"Dandomi, say I,
hearing what you say,
my heart is at peace.
I shall go home to Piaman,
it is lucky that you wish to come,
even if you did not, I would take you.

Even a cooked seed will grow,
not to mention an unripe coconut or a ripe one;
I am willing to sail alone,
but even more so with two of us.

Let us both go to Piaman."

129. I.e. there has been no daughter in the house.
130. Elliptical for *bukan alang*, 'not a little'. See Moehammad Thaib s.v. *alang*.
131. The expression is suggestive of high rank.
132. I stopped recording at this point because I had taped as much as was needed for comparative purposes. As can be seen from the summary of Munin's narrated version (p 77), the argument ends soon after this point: Dandomi refuses to let Nan Tungga go, on the grounds that Mandugombak is still too young; Nan Tungga loses his temper and threatens divorce; Dandomi agrees to let him go home.

IV

VARIATION BETWEEN PERFORMANCES

As already mentioned in chapter II (p 20), a *tukang sijobang*'s version of any episode varies from one performance to another, not so much with regard to its main structure and content, as in minor differences of meaning, degree of elaboration, and choice of language. In this chapter the nature of the variation between performances is illustrated by comparing three scenes, each of which was sung twice by the same *tukang sijobang*. First the three pairs of performances are compared in outline, then parts of them are compared in detail.

OUTLINE COMPARISON

The following summaries give the gist of the actions and speeches which compose each scene. The length, in lines, of each segment is shown after it in brackets, and the total length of each scene is also given. Preliminary *pantun* are omitted.

1. The first scene is the conversation between Abang Salamat and Intan Korong, after he has woken her up in order to find out the name of the land he has sighted. Munin gave the first of the two performances in a *lopau* at Lampasi, near Payakumbuh, on 2nd January 1975, and the second in a *lopau* in Kuranji on 6th May 1975.

1st Performance2nd Performance

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) IK: Why have you woken me at this unusual hour? Is something wrong? Is there work for me to do? (22) | 1) Same as 1st performance, plus 'I was startled out of a dream'. (35) |
| 2) AS: No. I have woken you on Nan Tungga's orders to ask you a question. (20) | 2) Same as 1st performance. (29) |
| 3) IK: What question? (13) | 3) Same as 1st performance. (15) |
| 4) AS: The ship is in an unknown part of the ocean. I have seen a good anchorage, but not knowing its name I asked Nan Tungga, who told me to ask you, as you have voyaged far. (42) | 4) Same as 1st performance, except asking Nan Tungga not mentioned. (49) |
| 5) IK: I will tell you. Let us go to the <i>pangipak</i> and look. (9) | 5) Same as 1st performance, plus 'yes, I have voyaged far'. (25) |
| 6) They walk to the <i>pangipak</i> (7) | 6) Same as 1st performance. (16) |
| 7) IK: Which is the unknown place? (5) | 7) Same as 1st performance. (9) |
| 8) AS: Look to the right. (13) | 8) Same as 1st performance. (7) |
| 9) IK looks carefully and recognizes the place. (10) | 9) Same as 1st performance. (10) |
| 10) IK: I have been there with Nan Kodo Baha. It is Bintawai. The harbour is forbidden. The ruler there is Tombi Bosa, who is unjust and merciless and imprisons strangers. Once he seized three brothers, who are now his slaves. | 10) Same as 1st performance up to this point. Then: |
| It is hard to say this, but they came from Tiku Pariaman. (100) | If I tell you, it will distress you. I am in a quandary. (113) |

	11) AS: Tell me the truth.	(11)
	12) IK: They are from Tiku Pariaman and are suffering a sad fate.	(31)
11) AS realises the truth and is sad and silent	13) Same as 1st performance.	(9) (13)
12) Have I offended you?	14) Same as 1st performance.	(10) (14)
13) No. I have realised that the prisoners may be Nan Tungga's uncles. We shall rescue them, come what may, or else face dishonour at home. Now I shall go to Nan Tungga.	15) Same as 1st performance.	(64) (73)
Total: 324 lines	Total: 450 lines	

2. The second scene is that in which Nan Tunga persuades Dandomi Sutan to let him return to Tiku. The first performance was given by Munin in the house of a friend in Kuranji on 11th December 1974, the second at a wedding in Sarik Lawas on 26 May 1965 (this is the performance which appeared as Transcription B in the previous chapter).

1st Performance

2nd Performance

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1) NT lived with DS. A son, Mandugombak, was born. He was NT's darling, clung to NT and behaved wilfully. One day NT was pensive.
(26)</p> | <p>1) Same as 1st performance, plus:
NT thought of his vow to Gondorlah.
(48)</p> |
| <p>2) DS: What's troubling you? You are well looked after, and this is the first time you have brooded.
(31)</p> | <p>2) Same as 1st performance, plus:
Is my behaviour at fault?
(48)</p> |
| <p>3) NT: I am not ill; but as ruler and only son, I was allowed to leave home only if I returned in 7 months. Now 3 years have passed, Tiku may be in disorder. I must go home. (65)</p> | <p>3) Same as 1st performance, plus: Your behaviour is not at fault; the people of Tiku all saw me off.
(81)</p> |
| <p>4) DS is silent. NT: Have I offended you? (19)</p> | <p>4) Same as 1st performance.
(24)</p> |
| <p>5) DS: I shall be deserted, so will Mandugombak. He will treat another man as father. Wait until he is older. (60)</p> | <p>5) Same as 1st performance, plus <i>pantun</i>.
(79)</p> |
| <p>6) NT: You are right; but I have to ensure that a new ruler is chosen in my stead. I shall be gone for no more than two weeks. (29)</p> | <p>6) Same, plus: Have pity on my mother and family; I vowed to return after 7 months; Tiku will be in disorder.
(47)</p> |

7) I cannot prevent you, for you long to go home. But you must not take the parrot; it will comfort Mandugombak when he wakes at night. (54)	7) Same as 1st performance.	(60)
8) NT is in a quandary: the parrot had been the only reason for marrying Dandomi. (15)	8) Same as 1st performance.	(18)
9) NT: I agree. But since my aim was to find my lost uncles, and taking Monggueng Kayo home would have harmed Ruhun, I was taking the bird as witness in MK's place. Now I must take MK himself. He will never return here. (46)	9) Same as 1st performance.	(58)
10) DS: You cannot take MK; the people depend on him. Instead take the parrot. But since my <i>bako</i> are from Tiku, I want to come too, bringing Mandugombak. (56)	10) Same as 1st performance.	(63)
11) NT fears that this will stop him marrying Gondoriah. (13)	11) Same as 1st performance.	(16)
12) NT: Good idea. But first say final fare- wells to the people of Ruhun, for my mother will not let you return here. (55)	12) Same as 1st performance. (Some lines missed during change of tape.)	(48)
Total: 469 lines	Total: 590 lines	

3. The third scene is one in which Santan Batapih arranges her hair and changes her clothes, with advice from Kombang Malang, before going to Nan Tungga's ship. The first performance is by Munin's young pupil, As, singing in a *lopau* at Lampasi on 2nd January 1975. He recorded it a second time at a *lopau* in Kuranji on 6th May 1975.

1st Performance2nd Performance

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) SB: We shall visit my <i>bako</i> 's ship. I am unskilled at hairdressing. Watch and point out my mistakes. (17) | 1) Same as 1st performance (minus: We shall visit the ship.) (16) |
| | 2) SB arranges her hair. (7) |
| 2) KM: You <i>are</i> skilled. (she describes Santan's coiffure in 6 <i>pantun</i> .) (37) | 3) Same as 1st performance. (37) |
| | (As pauses for rest) |
| 3) SB: It is time to go to the ship. I shall change my clothes; guide me in my choice. (17) | 4) SB was going to change her clothes. (4) |
| | 5) SB: Guide me in my choice. (10) |
| 4) KM watches as SB changes into white clothes and looks in mirror. (15) | 6) Same as 1st performance. (plus: SB likes it). (20) |
| 5) KM: It's pretty, but Nan Tungga will find fault with it for 3 reasons; take it off. (17) | 7) Same as 1st performance. (21) |
| 6) SB changes into red. (11) | 8) SB changes into yellow. (16) |
| 7) KM: It's pretty, but NT will criticise it. (17) | 9) Same as 1st performance. (22) |
| 8) SB changes into black. (13) | 10) SB changes into blue. (18) |
| 9) KM: Don't wear black, as NT will criticise it. (19) | 11) KM: Don't wear blue, as NT will criticise it. (30) |
| 10) SB: Nothing pleases you, though I have changed 3 times. What shall I wear? (18) | 12) Same as 1st performance. (24) |

11) KM: Wear velvet clothes of old times woven by <i>jin</i> .	13) Same as 1st performance. (15)	(29)
Total: 196 lines	Total: 254 lines	

The three outlines above show that, as regards structure (i.e. number and sequence of speech^{es} and actions) and basic content, a scene remains very largely stable from one performance to another. In the first scene, the only structural difference between the two performances is that Abang Salamat is given a short extra speech in the second performance, and the essential content of what he says remains unchanged. The two performances of the second scene are more similar still. The third pair of scenes show about the same degree of resemblance as the first, in that one action in the second performance (Santan Batapih arranges her hair) is not paralleled in the first. The variation in the colour of Santan's clothes is not an important difference of content. The only other structural difference is that what is conveyed in the first performance by a speech (segment 3) is divided in the second performance between narration and speech (segments 4 and 5). This was because As had just paused for rest, and after such a pause the *tukang sijobang* usually sets the scene again with a few lines of narrative, before resuming the dialogue.

In length, the pairs of performances differ considerably in all three cases, the difference being more or less evenly distributed among the component segments of each scene, with a few exceptions. The variations which lead to these differences in length are discussed in the next part of the chapter.

DETAILED COMPARISON

A more detailed picture of the variation between performances of the same scene can now be obtained by comparing transcriptions of parts of the first scene (Abang Salamat and Intan Korong) and the third (Santan Batapih and Kombang Malang). The pairs of transcriptions appear opposite each other, and each passage of convenient length is followed by a translation (which, because it attempts to reproduce some of the verbal similarities between performances, is more stilted than it might otherwise have been).

The first pair of transcriptions (C and D) are, respectively, the opening 97 lines of Munin's January 1975 performance of the first scene, and the corresponding 128 lines of his second performance (in May 1975). The second pair, E and F, consist, respectively, of 64 lines from As's January 1975 performance of the third scene, and the corresponding 73 lines of his May 1975 performance.

1 "Mano Selamat (lai) jonyo ambo,
 2 kini ko tidue babangunkan,
 3 (kok) lolok Intan buyueng jagokan,
 4 ukotu makan olun datang,
 5 ukuran (nan) minun (lai) olun (nan) tibo,
 6 lah ganjie dari nan biaso.
 7 Sojak salauk (lai) salamo ko,
 8 sojak badondang dari Tiku,
 9 lah tigo bulan ko palaieran,
 10 Intan nan bolun bajagokan.
 11 Kini mbo tidue (lai) dibangunkan,
 12 bak akoh asa jo mulonyo?
 13 Ontah kok Bugih (lai) nan marompak,
 14 Lanunkoh ado nan malangga?
 15 Torangkan kini (lai) bokéh ambo.
 16 Baiek ka(na)rojo ka bakakok,
 17 ontah kok boban nan ka dénai bao?
 18 Nan borék Intanlah mamikue,
 19 jaueh nak tontu (lai) dénai jalang,
 20 namun¹nyo ambo rang panompang.
 21 Selamat torangkan bokéh dénai,"
 22 kato nan gadih Intan Korong.

D

- 1 "O buyueng Bujang Selamat,
 2 mulo diracik batimbakau,
 3 jomue nan lopéh ka toplan;
 4 sapokiek buni rang maimbau,
 5 dénai bagoluk jo rasion.
- 6 Mimpi ilang badan tasintak,
 7 kinoran buyueng nan maimbau,
 8 badobue darah dalam dado,
 9 barombak iman nan ponueh,
 10 sangat taéran dalam ati,
 11 agak tarumik kiro-kiro.
- 12 Indak Intan ka salah tanyo,
 13 o mudo Abang Selamat,
 14 lolok ambo ang jagokan,
 15 tidue kini buyueng bangunkan,
 16 ari ko sodang tongah ari.
 17 Nan galik pado biaso,
 18 kalau nan tongah ari topék,
 19 olun lai badan babangunkan,
 20 kutiko makan (ko) dék lun datang,
 21 ukuran minun olun tibo.
 22 Kini bajagokan ambo dék buyeng,
 23 lah ganjie dari (lai) nan daulu,
 24 lah lain dari nan biaso.
- 25 Apokoh ilat (lai) dalam dondang?
 26 Alah nan gawa (kok) jo malangnyo?
 27 Tah² kok kojo (lai) ka bakakok,
 28 boban nak tontu (lai) Intan bao,
 29 nan borék nomueh mbo mamikue,
 30 kok jaueh Intanlah poi manjalang,
 31 namunnyo dénai rang panompang.
- 32 Selamat torangkan bokéh dagang,
 33 (kan) nak sonang di kiro-kiro,
 34 nak jan dibimbang iko juo,"
 35 katonyo si Intan Korong.

C

1 "Salamat, say I,
2 I am woken from sleep now,
3 you rouse me from slumber,
4 the time for food has not yet come,
5 the hour for drink is not yet here,
6 it is strange compared with the usual.
7 All this length of time,
8 since sailing from Tiku,
9 for three months we have voyaged,
10 I have never been woken.
11 Now I am roused from sleep,
12 what is the cause and reason for it?
13 Are Bugis perhaps causing havoc,
14 or Lanun attacking?
15 Explain to me now.
16 Or is there work to be done,
17 perhaps a burden for me to bear?
18 Heavy weights let me shoulder,
19 that I may surely run distant errands,
20 since I am, after all, a passenger.
21 Salamat, explain to me,"
22 said the maiden Intan Korong.

D

1 "Young Bujang Salamat,
2 the reason for slicing is to make tobacco,
3 drying rice which stretches to the bathing-place;
4 someone called with a shout,
5 I was wrestling with a dream.

6 When the dream fled I woke with a start,
7 hearing that it was you who called,
8 the blood pounds in my chest,
9 my whole spirit heaves,
10 I am greatly astonished,
11 my feelings are quite disturbed.

12 I shall not ask an offensive question,
13 young Abang Salamat,
14 you rouse me from my slumbers,
15 you wake me from sleep now,
16 it is mid-day now.

17 Usually,
18 if it is exactly mid-day,
19 I have not been woken,
20 since the moment for food has not yet come,
21 the hour for drink is not yet here.

22 That I am roused by you now
23 is strange compared with the past,
24 different compared with the usual.

25 What is amiss in the ship?
26 What failure and misfortune have befallen?

27 Perhaps there is work to be done,
28 that I may surely bear a burden,
29 heavy weights I am willing to shoulder,
30 if there are distant errands, let me run them,
31 since I am, after all, a passenger.

32 Explain it to me, Salamat,
33 that I may be content in mind,
34 and not be made anxious thereby,"
35 said Intan Korong.

23 Rundieng disambuk (lai) dék Selamat:
24 "Oncu kandueng badan dék ambo,
25 ubék paménan (alai) dalam dondang,
26 ja lai bak itu parundiengan.
27 Indak pamikue (lai) boban borék,
28 olun panjopuk (ko) nan jaueh;
29 ja lai diulang (lai) duo kali,
30 jaueh taibo dalam ati.
31 Anyo sakarang (lai) iko kini,
32 ambo dék datang (lai) musin kini,
33 tidue oncu ambo bangunan,
34 pitawék Tungga (lai) Anggun Sudah,
35 titah nan kodin ambo pituruk.
36 Aluran badan diri ambo ko,
37 (kan) nak batanyo bokéh oncu;
38 (o) bukan ambo ka salah tanyo,
39 (kok) olun mbo ka salah sudi.
40 Nan io sajolah kau curaikan,
41 nan bona-bona molah bilang,"
42 kato Selamat (lai) jo si Intan.

D

36 Sanan manjawab (lai) si Salamat:
 37 "Oncu kandueng si Intan Korong,
 38 sulueh béndang panunjuek jalan,
 39 comin toruih ka lauk godang,
 40 oncu jan salah tadorong,
 41 ja lai bak itu (lai) patuturan,
 42 Bamulo lolok mbo jagokan,
 43 tidue kini mbo bangunkan,
 44 bukan panjopuk (lai) boban borek,
 45 indak pambao-bao boban,
 46 indak panjang nan jaueh;
 47 ja lai bak itu (lai) patuturan,
 48 jaueh taibo (lai) dalam ati.
 49 Donga dék oncu mbo curaian,
 50 nan diri badan ambo ko,
 51 bago neu Intan lah tau juo,
 52 ubék di dalam dondang panjang,
 53 dék pisurueh mongko poi,
 54 dék imbau dénailah datang;
 55 nyato disurueh dék tan Tungga,
 56 ambo dititah tuek mudo tu,
 57 manjalang badan oncu kini.
 58 Niat sangajo di ati,
 59 (kan) nak batanyo mbo bokéh oncu,
 60 nak batutue sudah-sudah.
 61 Nan io-io parundiengkan,
 62 nan botue-botuelah curaikan;
 63 ja lai dialieh korong kampueng,
 64 ja lai diasak (ko) nagori."

23 Her words were answered by Salamat:]
24 "My dear lady,
25 balm and darling of the ship,
26 let not your words be thus.
27 You are no bearer of heavy burdens,
28 nor a fetcher of what is distant;
29 let it not be said a second time,
30 I am deeply distressed.]
31 At the present time,
32 the reason I come now,
33 waking you from sleep,
34 is the behest of Tungga Anggun Sudah,
35 his sure command I obey.]
36 As for myself,
37 I wish to ask you something;
38 I shall not ask an offensive question,
39 nor shall I make an offensive enquiry.]
40 Tell me only what is true,
41 say what is really right,"]
42 said Salamat to Intan.]

36 Then Salamat replied:
37 "Dear lady Intan Korong,
38 bright torch showing the way,
39 far-seeing mirror on the great ocean,
40 do not be mistakenly offended,
41 let not your speech be thus.
42 The reason I rouse you from slumber,
43 and wake you now from sleep,
44 is not that you are a fetcher of heavy burdens,
45 nor a bearer of burdens,
46 nor a runner of distant errands;
47 let not your speech be thus,
48 I am deeply distressed.
49 Listen, lady, as I tell you,
50 I myself,
51 although you know it anyway,
52 my work in the long ship
53 is that I go when ordered,
54 and come when called;
55 I was plainly ordered by Nan Tungga,
56 I was commanded by the young lord,
57 to approach you, lady.
58 The aim and purpose in my heart,
59 is to ask you something,
60 to discuss it thoroughly.
61 Say what is really true,
62 tell me what is really correct;
63 do not alter the villages,
64 do not change the hamlets."

C

43 Manjawab Intan (lai) dalam dondang:
 44 "Salamat jumbang rang Piaman,
 45 mulo baracik batimbakau,
 46 bagondang kociek (lai) tongah laman,
 47 (kok) si toko³ dalam barumah;
 48 (o) nak sonang di kiro-kiro,
 49 (nan) kok kociek sobuklah namo,
 50 kok godang imbaukanlah gola.

51 Jaueh nak tontu (lai) ditunjuekkan,
 52 bori baulu bamuar⁴,
 53 (o) apo nan ka ditanyokan?
 54 Salamat curaikan musin kini,"
 55 kato nan jumbang Intan Korong.

43 Intan replied in the ship:
 44 "Handsome Salamat of Piaman,
 45 the reason for slicing is to make tobacco,
 46 play a small drum in the court-yard,
 47 the *si toko* is under the house;
 48 so that I may be content in mind,
 49 if it is small mention its name,
 50 if it is great call it by its title.

51 So that what is distant may be surely shown,
 52 give me the headwaters and the river-mouth;
 53 what question is to be asked?
 54 Tell me now, Salamat,"
 55 said the comely Intan Korong.

D

65 Manjawab pulo si Intan:
 66 "O buyueng Abang Salammat,
 67 io bak andai pantun urang,
 68 (o) molah sabayam balido,⁵
 69 bagondang kociek di Malako,
 70 (o) si toko di tongah laman,
 71 talotak dalam (lai) barumah;
 72 (kok) ari nan sabonta iko,
 73 (nan) kok kociek sobuklah namo,
 74 kok godang borilah bagola.

75 Jaueh nak bulieh mbo tunjuekkan,
 76 ampieng nak tontu dikakokkan,
 77 alah nan ka ditanyokan?
 78 Apo nan ka diusuli?"
 79 katonyo Intan (lai) jo Salammat.

65 Intan replied in her turn:
 66 "Young Abang Salammat,
 67 it is true as the *pantun* says,
 68 if a spinach then a *balido*,
 69 play a small drum in Malacca,
 70 the *si toko* is in the court-yard,
 71 it is placed under the house;
 72 at this moment of the day,
 73 if it is small mention its name,
 74 if it is great give its title.

75 So that what is distant I may show you,
 76 and what is near may be grasped,
 77 what question will be asked?
 78 What enquiry is to be made?"
 79 said Intan to Salammat.

56 Rundiang disambuk (lai) dék Selamat:
57 "Asa nan tanyo badan ambo,
58 agaklah dondang ko lah tatombék,
59 sawang di tengah lauk godang ko;
60 pulau saumpuek nan tak tontu,
61 tanjueng tajorok (ko) nan tak obéh,
62 rantau to tontu pasawangan,
63 laie tak obéh (lai) padondangan.
64 Satontang manokoh parantauan?
65 Lauk sadidih (lai) kurang tontu,
66 Mbo tombék dondang di lauk ko,
67 mbo buang pandang (lai) tadah kanan,
68 lah tampak tanjueng nan tajorok,
69 osahlah tobieng (lai) jo toplan.
70 Mbo liék nyato dari dondang ko,
71 tabayang cando palaburan,
72 tompa ka panombék dondang.

D

80 Manjawab badan Salamat:
81 "Satontang tanyo (lai) bokéh oncu,
82 (kan) nak batanyo namo tobieng,
83 umpuek tanjueng mbo paréso.
84 Satontang dondang nan panjang ko,
85 nyato batombék tongah lauk;
86 lauk sadidih ko tak tontu,
87 pulau saumpuek olun obéh,
88 tanjueng tajorok nan lah ragu,
89 tobieng tatinjau nan tak tontu,
90 sawang tak obéh palaieran,
91 rantau lun tontu ka ditompueh.
92 Alue di malah padondangan?
93 Satontang manokoh palaieran?
94 Mbo layok pandang tadah kanan,
95 lah tampak tobieng jo topian,
96 tanjueng nan duo sagunaian,⁶
97 tanjueng tajorok ka topi lauk,
98 tobieng tatinjau di topian.
99 Mbo coliek nyato dari dondang,
100 mbo liék mbo pandang sudah,
101 nampak tabayang palabuan,
102 étén di tobieng di topian,
103 cawap panombék dondang panjang,
104 takah bona pangucuk laie ko.

56 Her words were answered by Salamat:
57 "As for my question,
58 concerning this ship, it is anchored,
59 remote in the middle of this great ocean;
60 a group of islands which is unknown,
61 a jutting promontory which is obscure,
62 a foreign place unknown in its remoteness,
63 the ship is obscure in its voyaging.
64 Whereabouts are these foreign parts?
65 It is an unknown part of the ocean.
66 I anchored the ship here in the ocean,
67 I cast my gaze to the right,
68 a jutting promontory could be seen,
69 a cliff and a shore were plainly visible.
70 I looked clearly from the ship,
71 it seemed a harbour could be made out,
72 well-suited for anchoring the ship.

D

80 [Salamat replied:
81 "Regarding my question to you, lady,
82 I wish to ask the name of a cliff,
83 I am enquiring about a promontory.
84 Regarding this long ship,
85 it is anchored in the middle of the ocean;
86 this part of the ocean is unknown,
87 a group of islands which is obscure,
88 the jutting promontories are unclear,
89 the prominent cliff is unknown,
90 a remote part, obscure for sailing,
91 an unknown foreign place is to be entered.
92 Which way are we voyaging?
93 Whereabouts are we sailing?
94 [I sent my gaze skimming to the right,
95 a cliff and a shore could be seen,
96 a pair of promontories together,
97 jutting promontories at the ocean's edge,
98 [a prominent cliff on the shore.
99 [I scanned it clearly from the ship,
100 I looked and gazed carefully,
101 a harbour could be made out,
102 yonder by the cliffs and the shore,
103 fit for anchoring the long ship,
104 [most apt for mooring this vessel.

73	Badan tadogak (lai) sampai kiun,]
74	tapi dék tobieng olun tontu,]
75	koto nan tidak do obéh gola,	
76	nak jan tatompueh mbo jo larangan,	
77	ambo batanyo ka Nan Tungga,	
78	kusuk olun do (jo) salosai,	
79	korueh nan tidak (lai) dapék jonieh.	
80	Aluran diri Anggun Tungga,	
81	nyo surueh ambo bokéh oncu,	
82	dék oncu pulo (lai) nan ka obéh,	
83	bagi rantau nan ka torang;]
84	oncu lah posai (lai) tongah lauk,]
85	lah godang dék aie masin,	
86	lah posai di lauk lopéh,	
87	takalo musin daulunyo,	
88	(kok) maso jo Nan Kodo Baha;	
89	oncu lah puéh dék marantau,	
90	lah tiok tanjueng nan tatompueh,	
91	tiok rimbo mamatah ranteng,	
92	tiok sungai manariék aie,	
93	lah banyak pulau (ko) nan tontu.]
94	Kini tunjuekkanlah dék oncu,]
95	(o) tobieng apokoh namonyo?	
96	Tanjueng alah gorén golanyo?"	
97	kato Salamet jo si Intan.]

D

105 Ambo taniat sampai kiun,
 106 badan tadogak balaie sanan;
 107 malang dék tobieng tak tontu namo,
 108 gola koto lun obéh gola;⁷
 109 kalau tatompueh jo larangan,
 110 sosa jan godang dalam dondang,
 111 kalau tajalang jo nan sati,
 112 tuek mudo kan bérang ka dénai.
 113 Kini dék datang ambo ka mari,
 114 (kan) nak batanyo namo tobieng;
 115 oncu lah godang tongah lauk,
 116 Intan lah codiek dék balaie,
 117 asa nan inggan iko ilie,
 118 lah badondang siang malam,
 119 nyato balaie potang pagi,
 120 tiok tanjueng ontakan galah,
 121 tiok rimbo mamatah ranteng,
 122 tiok sungai tu tariek aie,
 123 lah banyak koto oncu tompueh.
 124 (Kok) tobieng alah tu namonyo?
 125 Tanjueng alah tu golanyo?
 126 Élok curaikan bokéh ambo,
 127 nak sonang di dalam ati,"
 128 katonyo Abang Selamat.

73 I desired to go yonder,
74 but because the cliffs were unknown to me,
75 the title of the village was obscure,
76 lest I should enter a forbidden place,
77 I asked Nan Tungga,
78 but the tangled was not made straight,
79 the muddy could not be made clear.
80 As for Anggun Tungga,
81 he ordered me to come to you,
82 to you, lady, it would be clear,
83 our whereabouts would be plain;
84 you have surfeited yourself at sea,
85 you have grown up amid the salt water,
86 you have surfeited yourself on the boundless ocean,
87 in former days,
88 when you were with Nan Kodo Baha;
89 you have had your fill of going abroad,
90 you have trodden every promontory,
91 broken twigs in every forest,
92 drawn water from every river,
93 many islands are known to you.
94 Now tell me, lady,
95 what is the name of the cliffs?
96 What, pray, is the title of the promontory?"
97 said Salamat to Intan.

D

105 I intended to go yonder,
106 I desired to sail thither;
107 alas, the name of the cliffs was unknown,
108 the title of the village was obscure,
109 if we entered a forbidden place,
110 there might be deep regret in the ship,
111 if we approached a haunted spot,
112 the young lord would be angry with me.
113 The reason I have come here now
114 is to ask the name of the cliffs;
115 you have grown up at sea,
116 you have come of age under sail,
117 up to this time
118 you have voyaged day and night,
119 truly you have sailed evening and morning,
120 thrust down your quant at every promontory,
121 broken twigs in every forest,
122 drawn water in every river,
123 you have entered many villages.
124 What is the name of those cliffs?
125 What is the title of that promontory?
126 Please explain to me,
127 that I may be content in mind,"
128 said Abang Salamat.

1 Rundieng lah tibo dék si Santan,
 2 di situ tobik parundiengan:
 3 "Diek kandueng si Kombang Malang,
 4 kini bak itulah dék kau,
 5 ja lai kau rintang (lai) jo gandolai,
 6 (o) ari dék barémbang potang,
 7 kotu ka dondang, diek, (lai) lah tibo.
 8 Kini bak itu (lai) dék si Kombang,
 9 (kan) ambo ka rintang mamakai,
 10 nan makoh kain (lai) k' ambo bao,
 11 baju panyonsong (ah) dondang bako?
 12 Élok curaianlah bokéh ambo,
 13 (kok) nak sonang di dalam ati,
 14 suni di dalam kiro-kiro.
 15 Togak mamandanglah kau kini,
 16 pandang dék Kombanglah nyato-nyato;
 17 kau ka gonti, diek, comin toruih,
 18 tukaran sulueh (ko) nan béndang,"
 19 andai si Santan (lai) jo si Kombang.

1 Speech was uttered by Santan,
 2 and she gave utterance:
 3 "Dear sister Kombang Malang,
 4 this is what you must do now,
 5 do not be distracted by pleasantries,
 6 for the afternoon is far spent,
 7 and it is time to go to the ship.
 8 This is what you must do, Kombang,
 9 I shall busy myself with dressing,
 10 which skirt shall I wear,
 11 which jacket to welcome my *bako*'s ship?
 12 Please tell me,
 13 that I may be content in heart,
 14 and quiet in mind.
 15 Stand and look now,
 16 look very carefully, Kombang;
 17 you shall take the place of a far-seeing mirror,
 18 act as substitute for a bright torch,"
 19 said Santan to Kombang.

1 Agaklah Santan (lai) maso itu,
 2 (kok) lah sudah ragam tu basanggue,
 3 (kan) dibukak kain di badan,
 4 ka dicubo ragam bakain,
 5 imbau lah tibo ka si Kombang:
 6 "O diek kandueng si Kombang Malang,
 7 anyo bak itu, diek, lah kini ko;
 8 Kombang ai pandanglah dék kau,
 9 kau ka gonti (lai) comin godang,
 10 tukaran sulueh (lai) ka nan béndang;
 11 ilat (kan) kau ka mancacék,
 12 tompan si Kombang (lai) ka manyonjueng,
 13 togak mamandanglah bak kini,"
 14 andai si Santan (lai) jo si Kombang.

1 As for Santan at that time,
 2 when her coiffure was completed,
 3 she took off her clothes,
 4 she was going to try on various clothes,
 5 she called to Kombang:
 6 "Dear sister Kombang Malang,
 7 this is all you must do now;
 8 look at me, Kombang,
 9 you shall take the place of a great mirror,
 10 act as substitute for a bright torch;
 11 what is at fault you shall censure,
 12 what is fitting you shall praise,
 13 stand and look now,"
 14 said Santan to Kombang.

20 Kombang lah togak maso itu,]
21 rintang mamandang (lai) s'urang diri.]
22 (Kok) Santan lah rintang bakoméh,]
23 dibukak baju tok⁸ ari,]
24 (kok) diluluih kain tok siang.]
25 Ditariek sagalo putieh,]
26 (kan) dék copék Santan batinggang,]
27 inyo rang arih (lai) bijaksano,]
28 dék bijak Santan mamakai,]
29 (kok) takonak sagalo putieh,]
30 lah lokék baju nan putieh.]
31 (O) dibao togak ka kén,]
32 étén ka muko comin godang,]
33 togak mamandang si Santan.]
34 Dalam dibimbang (lai) nan bak itu,]
35 andai lah tibo (lai) dék si Kombang,]
36 di situ tobik parundiengan:]

F

- 15 [Agaklah Santan (lai) rang Tanau tu,
 16 (kok) ditariek kain pasérong,⁹
 17 (kok) baragi bungo ambacang,
 18 nan bakupalo bapucuek rôbueng,
 19 nan batulih jo bonang mokau,
 20 (kok) nan basulam jo aie oméh;
 21 (nan) diluluih pakai tok ari,
 22 (nan) dibukak baju tok siang.
- 23 [Kombang bakoméh (lai) maso itu,
 24 togak mamandang Kombang Malang.
- 25 [Santan ka rintang nyo bakain,
 26 (kok) ditariek sagalo putieh,
 27 (nan) dék bijak Santan batinggang,
 28 lah takonak sagalo putieh.
- 29 [Dibao togak (lai tu) ka kén,
 30 (nan) ka muko comin nan godang,
 31 (kok) ditiliek dipandang nyato,
 32 raso lah tompa (lai) jonyo ati,
 33 raso ka topék nyo kiro-kiro.
- 34 [Dalam dibimbang nan bak itu,
 35 andai lah tibo (lai) dék si Kombang,
 36 cacék lah tibo (lai) maso itu:

20 Kombang stood at that time,]
21 Looking intently by herself.]
22 Santan busily made herself ready,]
23 she took off her everyday jacket,]
24 she removed her daily skirt.]
25 She took clothes which were all white,]
26 by the quickness of her actions,]
27 she was wise and discreet,]
28 by her cleverness in dressing,]
29 she put on her all-white clothes,]
30 she donned the white jacket.]
31 She went and stood over there,]
32 yonder before the great mirror,]
33 Santan stood and looked.]
34 During this uncertainty,]
35 words were spoken by Kombang,]
36 and she gave utterance then:]

F

15 As for Santan of Tanau,
16 she took an over-skirt,
17 with a pattern of *ambacang* flowers,
18 and a bamboo-shoot design at the end,
19 decorated with thread from Macao,
20 embroidered with gold thread;
21 she removed her everyday clothing,
22 she took off her daily jacket.
23 Kombang made ready at that time,
24 Kombang Malang stood and looked.
25 Santan was going to be busy dressing,
26 she took clothes which were all white,
27 by the cleverness of her actions,
28 she put on the all-white clothes.
29 She went and stood over there,
30 before the great mirror,
31 she gazed and looked carefully,
32 I feel it suits me, she said to herself,
33 I feel it's right, she thought.
34 During this uncertainty,
35 words were spoken by Kombang,
36 censure was voiced at that time:

37 "Ociek¹⁰ ai Santan Batapih,
 38 bungo satangkai (lai) nak rang Tanau,
 39 sandaran untueng jo bagian,
 40 kok tompa olahlah tompa,
 41 (nan) kok jumbang olahlah jumbang.
 42 Tapi samontang pun bak itu,
 43 kok tumbueh cacék (lai) dék rang Tiku,
 44 oncu kok ino dalam dondang,
 45 donga dék Santan dén curaian.
 46 Nyo songko moik nan ka kubue,
 47 nyo bilang bangau (o) sakubangan,
 48 nyo bilang siak nan sasurau.
 49 Ja lai dipakai sagalo putieh,
 50 élok urak pakaian putieh,"
 51 rundieng si Kombang (lai) jo si Santan

37 "Lady Santan Batapih,
 38 single flower of the people of Tanau,
 39 on whom my fate and fortune lean,
 40 as for suiting you, yes, it suits you,
 41 as for prettiness, yes, it is pretty.
 42 But, even so,
 43 censure may arise from the man of Tiku,
 44 you may be insulted in the ship,
 45 listen, Santan, as I explain.
 46 He will think - a corpse going to its grave,
 47 he will say - a wallowful of cattle-egrets,
 48 he will say - a dormitoryful of religious students.
 49 Do not wear all-white clothes,
 50 you had better doff your white clothes,"
 51 said Kombang to Santan.

F

37 "Oncu ai juo jonyo ambo,
 38 (kok) nan jumbang Santan Batapih,
 39 jan lai nak bérang (lai) bokéh ambo,
 40 usah nak bérang ka si Kombang,
 41 sobab bak alah (lai) dék bak itu?
 42 Jan laidipakai sagalo putieh,
 43 kalaudipakai nan bak kini,
 44 oncu ka cacék (lai) dalam dondang,
 45 Santan ka ino (lai) dék rang mudiek.
 46 Kok anyo andai Nan Tungga tu,
 47 donga dék Santan (lai) dén katoan;
 48 agaklah rundieng (lai) rang Piaman,
 49 nyo songko moik nan ka kubue,
 50 nyo sobuk bangau (lai) sakubangan,
 51 nyo bilang siak (lai) nan sasurau,
 52 bak itu cacék rang di dondang,
 53 bak nantun andai (lai) tuek mudo tu;
 54 Santan ai urak baju nan putieh,"
 55 kato si Kombang maso itu.

37 "My lady, say I,
 38 fair Santan Batapih,
 39 do not be angry with me,
 40 be not angry with Kombang,
 41 why do I ask this?
 42 Do not wear all-white clothes,
 43 if you wear such as you have on now,
 44 you will be censured in the ship,
 45 you will be insulted by the man from home.
 46 As for the words of Nan Tungga,
 47 listen, Santan, as I tell you;
 48 concerning the man of Piaman's speech,
 49 he will think - a corpse going to its grave,
 50 he will talk about a wallowful of cattle-egrets,
 51 he will say - a dormitoryful of religious students,
 52 thus will the man in the ship censure you,
 53 like that will the young lord speak;
 54 Santan, doff your white jacket,"
 55 said Kombang at that time.

52 Aluran diri (lai) si Santan tu,
 53 baru tadonga nan bak itu,
 54 (kok) ditariek kain pasérong,
 55 (kok) dibukak sagalo putieh,
 56 (o) diluluih kain nan putieh.
 57 (kok) ditariek sagalo sirah,
 58 (o) Santan lah rintang mamakai,
 59 (o) dek bijak Santan Batapih,
 60 inyo rang arih (lai) bijaksano,
 61 (o) takonak sagalo sirah.
 62 Dalam dibimbang (lai) nan bak itu,
 63 andai lah tibo dék si Kombang,
 64 di situ tobik (lai) rundieng Kombang:

52 As for Santan,
 53 as soon as she heard that,
 54 she took an over-skirt,
 55 she took off her all-white clothes,
 56 she removed her white skirt.
 57 She took clothes which were all red,
 58 Santan was busily dressing,
 59 through Santan Batapih's cleverness,
 60 she was wise and discreet,
 61 she put on the all-red clothes.
 62 During this uncertainty,
 63 words were spoken by Kombang,
 64 she made utterance then:

F

56 [Baru tadonga (lai) dék si Santan,
 57 bak raso io (lai) dalam ati,
 58 (nan) diluluih pakaian putieh,
 59 (kok) diurak sagalo putieh.
 60 [Sanan batinggangnyo maso itu,
 61 (nan) ditariek sagalo kunieng,
 62 agaklah Santan (lai) rang Tanau tu,
 63 sodieng batinggang (lai) maso itu,
 64 (o) dék bijak Santan Batapih,
 65 lah takonak sagalo kunieng.
 66 [(O) Santan togak (lai) nyo ka kiun,
 67 (o) ka muko comin nan godang,
 68 (o) ditiliek dipandang nyato,
 69 raso lah tompa (lai) jonyo ati,
 70 raso lah topék nyo kiro-kiro.
 71 [Dalam dibimbang bak itu juo,
 72 andai lah tibo dék si Kombang,
 73 cacék lah tibo (lai) maso itu:

56 [As soon as Santan heard this,
 57 she felt that she agreed,
 58 she removed her white clothing,
 59 and doffed her all-white clothes.
 60 [She bestirred herself at that time,
 61 she took clothes which were all yellow,
 62 as for Santan of Tanau,
 63 she was bestirring herself at that time,
 64 through Santan Batapih's cleverness,
 65 she put on the all-yellow clothes.
 66 [Santan went and stood over there,
 67 before the great mirror,
 68 she gazed and looked carefully,
 69 I feel it suits me, she said to herself,
 70 I feel it's right, she thought.
 71 [During all this uncertainty,
 72 words were spoken by Kombang,
 73 censure was voiced at that time:

STABILITY OF STRUCTURE

A comparison of the composition of the corresponding pairs of speeches and narrative passages in transcriptions C and D shows that they resemble each other quite closely in structure, i.e. in the number, sequence and general meaning of the points they contain. For example, both versions (C23-42 and D36-64) of a speech by Abang Salamat fall into four corresponding subsegments (marked with square brackets), and so do most of the other passages. The one exception is the first 11 lines of Transcription D, which has no counterpart in C. In transcriptions E and F the speeches and narrative passages are slightly less stable in structure: lines E20-21 and F23-24 correspond in meaning but not in position in the passage; E37-41 and F37-41 correspond in position but differ entirely in content; F66-70 has no counterpart in E.

FLUIDITY OF EXPRESSION

Closer examination of the corresponding pairs of passages reveals that, within a relatively firm outline of structure and content, the details of expression are fluid, i.e. there are many small differences in meaning, in degree of elaboration and in choice of words. Examples are taken first from Munin's two performances (transcriptions C and D), then from As's (E and F).

1. Comparison of C and D

C 1-10, D 12-24 As to meaning, no equivalent of lines C 7-10 is found in the corresponding subsegment, nor is the mention of mid-day (in D 16 and D 18) paralleled in C. Otherwise, D 12-24 is equivalent in meaning to C 1-6, but is longer because of: the polite introductory phrase D 12; a construction in three sentences, involving repetition of the sense of D 15 in D 22, and of D 17 in D 23; and the parallelism of D 23-24 instead of C 6.

As regards variability of language, only one line in the first version is repeated in the second: C 5/D 21. Between C 3 and D 14, C 4 and D 20, and C 6 and D 23-24, there is structural similarity but variation in vocabulary (through the process of substitution within a pattern discussed earlier in the section on Recurrent Elements). C 2 and D 15 resemble each other in vocabulary but not structure.

C 11-15, D 25-26 The only similarity between these two passages is a rough equivalence in meaning, which in C is expressed more lengthily. There are no similarities of language.

C 16-20, D 27-31 Here the similarity in content, length and language is close. C 20 and D 31 are identical in structure and, but for one word, in vocabulary, and there is much resemblance in vocabulary, though not construction, between all the other lines.

C 21-22, D 32-35 In the second version the same basic content is expanded, to the extent of being slightly different in meaning, by the addition of two lines (D 33-34) which are commonly appended to questions. C 21 and D 32 are of identical structure and differ in vocabulary by only one word.

C 23-30, D 36-48 The two passages differ very little in meaning. The difference in length of 5 lines results from the more elaborate expression of the D version: the longer form of address, the polite expression D 40, the explanatory clause D 42-43, the use of three phrases (D 44-46), where two are used in C (27-28). In spite of the close resemblance in meaning, only one line is completely identical in both performances (C 30 and D 48). But there is structural identity and much similarity of vocabulary between C 26 and D 41 and 47, C 27 and D 44, C 28 and D 46; and there is some similarity of vocabulary between C 24 and D 37.

C 31-35, and D 49-57 Within an overall equivalence in meaning there are a number of minor differences, so that the only lines which correspond in meaning are C 32, 34-35 and D 55-57. The difference in length is mainly accounted for by the explanatory lines D 51-54. There is no linguistic similarity between the two passages.

C 36-39, D 58-60 Basically similar in meaning, the two versions share one virtually identical line (C 37, D 59), but elaborate it in two different ways (C 38-39, D 60).

C 40-42, D 61-64 The first two lines in each passage are identical in meaning, similar in structure, and share some vocabulary. In D they are further elaborated on by lines 63 and 64.

C 43-50, D 65-74 The two passages are identical in their meaning, which

is contained in the second half of the *pantun*. D is made longer by the introductory line D 67 and by an (erroneous) extra line in the first half of the *pantun*.

C 51-55, D 75-79 The two versions are almost identical in meaning. They share two nearly identical lines (C 51, 53, D 75, 77). In D these are expanded by means of parallelism, in C by phrases which reinforce the question.

In the remaining subsegments of C and D, the same kinds of differences and similarities between performances can be seen:

Differences in meaning C 77-81 and C 87-88 are not paralleled in the corresponding subsegments of D.

Differences in elaboration D 95-98 is more elaborated than C 68-69, D 99-100 than C 70, D 103-104 than C 72.

Similarities in language

Whole lines: C 91-92 and D 121-122

Structure of lines, and much vocabulary: C 60, 65 and D 86-87;
C 61 and D 89; C 62-63 and D 90; C 64 and D 93; C 67 and D 94;
C 84 and D 115; C 89 and D 116; C 96 and D 124-125.

Vocabulary: C 61 and D 88; C 69 and D 95, 102; C 71 and D 101;
C 72 and D 103; C 75 and D 108; C 76 and D 109; C 90 and D 120.

2. Comparison of E and F

E 15-19, F 5-14 The content is very similar, except for the addition of F 11-12. As regards language, four of the five lines in E (15, 17-19) are repeated - some not quite exactly - in F.

E 22-24, F 15-22 As regards content, five out of the eight lines in F are descriptive elaboration (F 16-20), the other three correspond in meaning to the three lines in E. Two of the three lines in E reappear in F structurally unchanged but with differences in vocabulary.

E 25-30, F 25-28 The E version is slightly longer and a little different in meaning as a result of lines E 26-27. Two lines in E (25 and 29)

are repeated in F (26 and 28), and E 28 and F 27 are very similar in structure and language.

E 31-33, F 29-33 The F version has an additional element of content in lines F 32-33. E 31-32 are repeated almost exactly in F 29-30.

E 34-36, F 34-36 There is a minor difference in meaning between E 36 and F 36, but the first two lines in each case are identical in content and expression.

E 42-51, F 42-55 In meaning the two passages are very similar, but F is longer as a result of elaboration: a conditional clause in line 43, and lines 46, 48, 52 and 53 which add nothing to the content. Three lines in E (46, 48, 49) are repeated in F (49, 51, 42). Others are identical or very close in structure, and similar in vocabulary: E 44 with F 44, E 45 with F 47, E 47 with F 50.

E 52-56, F 56-59 The second version has a minor additional element of meaning in F 57, but the main content is expressed at slightly greater length in E (lines 54-56, cf. F 58-59). Lines E 55-56 are closely similar in structure and vocabulary to F 58-59, and F 56 repeats part of E 53.

E 57-61, F 60-65 The two passages are almost exactly identical in content, except that Santan puts on red clothes in E and yellow in F. As to language, three lines in E (57, 59, 61) are repeated exactly (disregarding the colour difference) in F (61, 64, 65).

E 62-64, F 71-73 The meaning differs very slightly in the third line. The language is very similar, two lines being repeated almost exactly.

VARIATION IN LANGUAGE

When all the similarities in language between corresponding pairs of passages which were noted above are added together, it emerges that, in both Munin's case and As's, about 40% of the lines in the first performance recurred in the second, whether in full, or as regards grammatical structure (with substitution of vocabulary), or as regards vocabulary (recombined in a different construction). When broken down according to these three forms of recurrence (mentioned in Chapter III under the heading Recurrent Elements), the numbers of lines in Munin's and As's first performances which recurred in their second performances are as follows:

<u>Type of recurrence</u>	<u>No. of lines in</u> <u>Transcription C</u>	<u>No. of lines in</u> <u>Transcription E</u>
	(Munin)	(As)
Repetition	9	18
Substitution	15	7
Recombination	<u>14</u>	<u>1</u>
	38 (out of 97)	26 (out of 64)

These differences may be partly due to the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the two *tukang sijobang*, but I suspect that they have more to do with the difference in experience between the two men. So far as one can judge from these performances alone, Munin seems to have developed, over the years, an ability to vary expression by substituting alternative words within the same grammatical framework, and recombining the same vocabulary in various patterns, and he relies more on these resources than on straightforward repetition. The comparative novice As appears not to have acquired this faculty yet, and instead depends more on memory and repetition. This interpretation agrees with the findings of Lord in the sphere of Yugoslav oral poetry. Lord writes that, after a certain point in his training, "the singer depends less and less on learning formulas and more and more on the process of substituting other words in the formula patterns." (Lord, 1960, pp 36-37).¹¹ As's relative inexperience and consequent paucity of verbal resources are also, I believe, reflected in his tendency to repeat lines and phrases within the same performance to a much greater extent than Munin. Examples are: E 4 and 8; E 34-35 and 62-63; F 60 and 63; F 34-36 and 71-73.

REASONS FOR VARIATION BETWEEN PERFORMANCES

Small differences in expression from one performance to another are probably inexplicable, beyond saying that they are a natural consequence of a method of composition and delivery based not on *verbatim* memorisation but on the manipulation of formulae. Variations in the total length of a scene from one singing to another probably result from the circumstances of the performance, including the *tukang sijobang*'s mood and any personal reasons he may have for expanding or condensing the performance. For example, Munin said that if his immediate relatives were present the story would 'shrink' (*kucuk*), whereas if they were absent it would 'blossom' (*kombang*). Furthermore, he would sing his best (which would probably, though not necessarily, affect the length of the performance) if

the audience were quiet and attentive, and he himself was not tired and felt content and tranquil.

All three pairs of performances considered earlier in this chapter differed in length, the first from 324 to 450 lines, the second from 469 to 590, and the third from 196 to 254. Both performances of the first and third scenes took place in similar surroundings - in coffee-shops - and I do not know of any reason why the performances should have varied in length; except perhaps that As, being in the process of learning, may have added fresh material to his repertoire in the five months between his two performances of the third scene. In the case of the second scene, the variation in length may have been partly due to the fact that the first performance was given in Munin's own village, in the presence of at least some of his relations, and at the end of an evening spent recording the narrated version of the story, when Munin may have felt tired. The second performance, on the other hand, took place at a wedding in a different village - conditions which may have helped the second singing to 'blossom' more fully than the first.

NOTES

1. Apparently an idiosyncratic pronunciation of *namonyo*, i.e. 'as is inherent in' (my being a passenger), 'naturally since' (I am a passenger).
2. Short for *ontah*.
3. A shrub, *Plumbago rosea*.
4. I.e. explain it to me thoroughly.
5. A fish, *Notopterus* spp.
6. According to Munin, *duo sagunaian* means 'two together'.
7. The sense is slightly confused by the repetition of *gola*.
8. A rapid pronunciation of *tiok*, 'every'.
9. The context suggests that *pasérong* means 'serving as a sheath or covering' (*sarueng*, to which word *pasérong* is probably related, rather than to *sérong*, 'slanting').
10. An abbreviation of *kociék*, 'small'. Like *oncu*, it is a respectful term of address to a woman.
11. A remark which may be significant in this connection was made by my assistant, Syamsuhir Burhan, when discussing with Munin and me the performance of the young *tukang sijobang* Syaf. Pointing out that

Syaf quite often repeated a line, apparently while thinking what came next, he said that Syaf 'ran out of material' (*kehabisan bahan*), and that he 'memorised the story too much' (*terlampau menghafal cerita*). This suggests a recognition that *verbatim* memorisation is undesirable.

GLOSSARY OF MINANGKABAU WORDS

The words included in this list are mainly those whose meanings cannot be deduced from the regular phonetic correspondences between Minangkabau and Indonesian noted in Chapter III, pp 144-146.

a? what?

agaklah as for, with regard to

alue way

aluran concerning

ampieng near

andai speech; to speak

andunkan,
andunan to do, act

(ati)
parotian mind, feelings

bago although

bak like, as
bak a? how? why?
bak itu like that

bako one's father's family

balai market; council hall

bao carry

barumah space under house (from *bawah rumah*)

bawa binding on handle of knife, etc.

bayueng spoilt (of *padi*)

bédo difficult

béndang bright

bénsi a small pipe

bih (short for *abih*) all of (you, them etc.)

bíludu velvet

bokéh a place; to (a person)

bongih angry
pambongih quick-tempered

bulieh be able; be obtained

- buue a knot

 cako just now, recently
 calémpong ensemble of small gongs
 cando appearance
 caro language
 cawap a sign; fit, suitable
 ciék one
 coliek to look at
 concang to trot
 conggang be separated
 cuci pure

 daan a branch
 daawa accusation
 dék because of, suffering from, by, for
 dénai I, me
 di in, at, from
 didih slice, piece
 do particle following negatives, e.g. *Inyo indak situ do*, 'He is not there.'
 duto a lie
 baduto to tell a lie
 (dorok)
 badorok to begin
 dogak longing
 tadogak to long for
 dogaklah as for, with regard to
 dubalang village guard
 dunie world, worldly pleasure or glory, entertainment
 badunie amuse oneself

 étén yonder

 galéh trade
 gawa faulty
 génsé move a little, budge

goran, gorén perhaps, probably

gua to strike

iko this

indak no, not

indo no, not

inok ponder

io true
baio tell the truth

isuek in the future

jampang if, supposing

jan don't, let not
ja lai don't

jimék all, the entire

jo with

jokok if

jolang carry on shoulders

jonyo say, think

judu partner, fiancée

jumbang handsome, pretty

ka shall, will; to, towards

kabieh = kobieh

kakok hold, undertake

kali dig

kan...kan... the more...the more...

kan a? what for?

kécék speech

kéh short for *bokéh*

kén yonder

kéték small
sakéték a little

kinoran be heard

kiro-kiro thoughts, feelings
 kium yonder
 ko short for *iko*
 koba speech
 kobieh inclined towards, near
 kok if; perhaps
 kona remember, think about
 pangona thought
 konai incur, suffer
 kondak a desire, wish
 kotu time (= ukotu); when, while
 kucapi a stringed instrument
 kucondan joking, banter
 kudian later
 kumari everywhere
 (kunun)
 kok kunun let alone, not to mention

 lah short for olah
 laie 1. outside, be born
 2. a sail, ship
 (lakik)
 malakik before
 limbago customs
 limbak other, apart
 litak weak, hungry
 lobueh road
 (lolah)
 balolah to hurry
 lopau coffee-shop
 lun short for *olun*

 ma? where?
 (main)
 paménan pet, darling, favourite

mak	short for <i>mamak</i>
mamak	mother's brother
mandéh	mother
manga?	why?
mantaro	while
maumin	devout, faithful
mbo (short for <i>ambo</i>)	I, me
mikin	poor, poverty
moik	corpse
molah	if, when
mongko	only then
mukosuk	intention
mulo	reason
mulorét	suffer
musin	year, season
naimat	gift, blessing
nak	1. to wish, intend; so that 2. short for <i>anak</i> child
nan	which (relative)
nantun	that one (from <i>nan itu</i>)
ncu	short for <i>oncu</i>
ñiniek	grandparent
nomueh	to wish, be willing
nyo	1. (short for <i>inyo</i>) 3rd person pronoun 2. (short for <i>jonyo</i>) to say, think
obéh	clear, known
obuek	hair
ociek	respectful term of address to women
oduehkan	suffer
ogueng	gong
olah	has, had; is now (cf. Malay <i>sudah</i>)

olun	not yet
oncu	respectful term of address to women
onggak	unwilling
ontok	quiet, still
osah	clear, visible
pai (=poi)	to go
paménan	see <i>main</i>
pangipak	part of ship where oarsmen sit (?)
pangulu	lineage head
paréso	ask, enquire
parotian	see <i>ati</i>
pasa	well-trodden, smooth
pégu	pensive, brooding
piawai	good, just, true
pincuran	water-conduit
pisoko	heritage, custom
pisurueh	see <i>surueh</i>
pitawék	advice, injunction
pitih	money
po?	how many?
pobilo?	when? (and relative)
pocék	criticise, censure
pocik	to hold, maintain
pohom	mind, thoughts
poi	to go
pondam	a grave
posai	tired of; satisfied with
(posan)	
si posan	centipede
puti	princess, lady
puto	son

rago	while	
indak rago (+ verb)	without	
raik	a secret	
rancak	beautiful, fine	
randai	form of popular drama in West Sumatra	
rang (=urang)	person	
rasian	a dream	
(réla)		
baréla-réla	say farewell	
rogo	a price; to bid for	
rono	brightness, glory	
rotak	crack; fate	
rumik	worried, distressed	
rundieng	speech; to speak	
sabék	friend	
sajojak	since	
salapan	eight	
salosai	straight, untangled	
salueng	kind of flute	
sanan	there, then	
sangajo	intention	
sansai	wander, drift; suffer	
saok	to cover, close	
saroto	with	
sawang	remote	
sénjang	difficult	
siat	healthy	
sijobang	sung narration of story of Anggun Nan Tungga	
siko	here	
simarantang	name given to <i>randai</i> in Tiku area	
sirah	red	
sorau	unfortunate, accursed	

sorik	difficult, rare
sosi	witness
sotie	oath, promise
sumangék	spirit, life, brightness
sumarak	glory, brightness
sum(b)arang	any, whatever
(supaha)	
basupaha	to clasp hands
(surueh)	
pisurueh	a command
sutan	prince
suto	silk
tadah	towards, in the direction of
taga dék	because of
taie	a tael (weight)
takah	to look right, suitable
takalo	when (relative)
tan	(short for <i>tuan</i>) lord, master
tariek	take
tén	short for <i>étén</i>
tido	no, not
to	1. no, not 2. come! let us...
tondai	a sign
toréh	clean, clear
patoréh	to clean
(tukuek)	
batukuek	to increase, grow
tumpak	a place
tunggang	brave, determined

(ucak)

saucak the whole, the entire

ukotu time

ukuran the right moment

upék to censure, criticise

urang person

wak (short for *awak*) I, we

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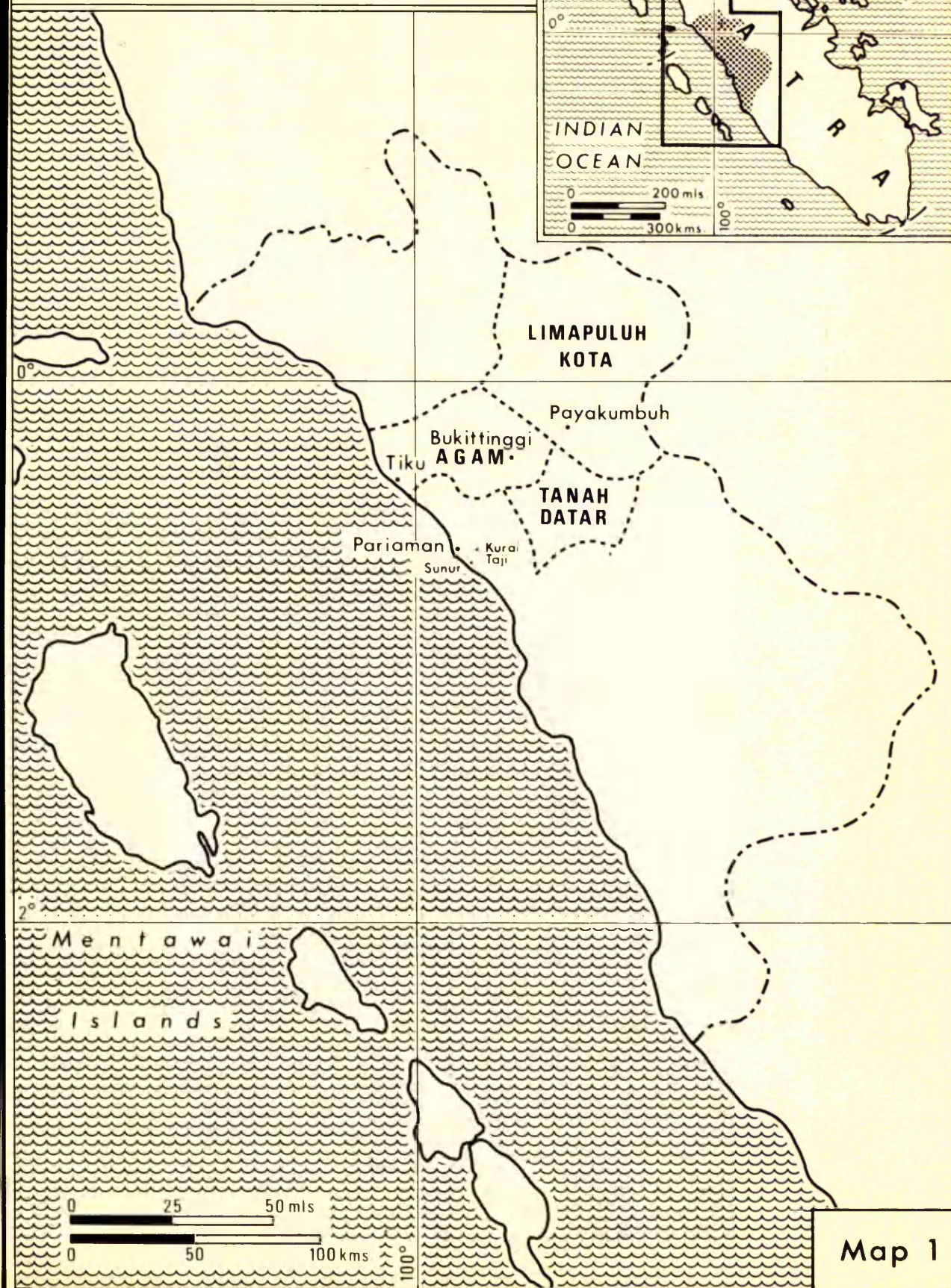
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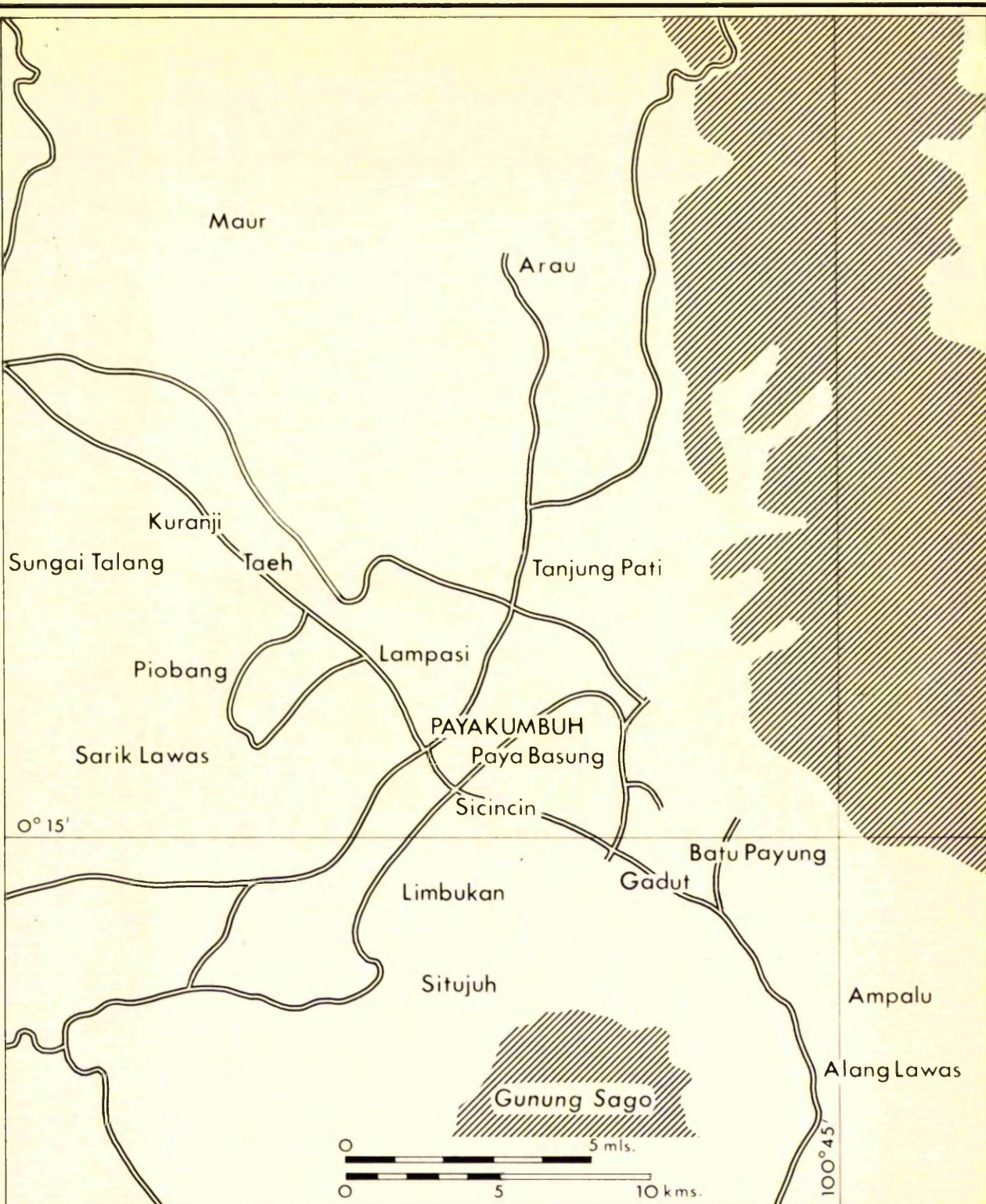
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ABBREVIATIONS

- BKI* *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- VBG* *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*

Provincial boundary - - - -
Kabupaten boundary





Mountains

AREA AROUND PAYAKUMBUH



Munin singing *sijobang* in his home



Syaf singing *sijobang* at a wedding



As singing *sijobang* at a wedding



mandai